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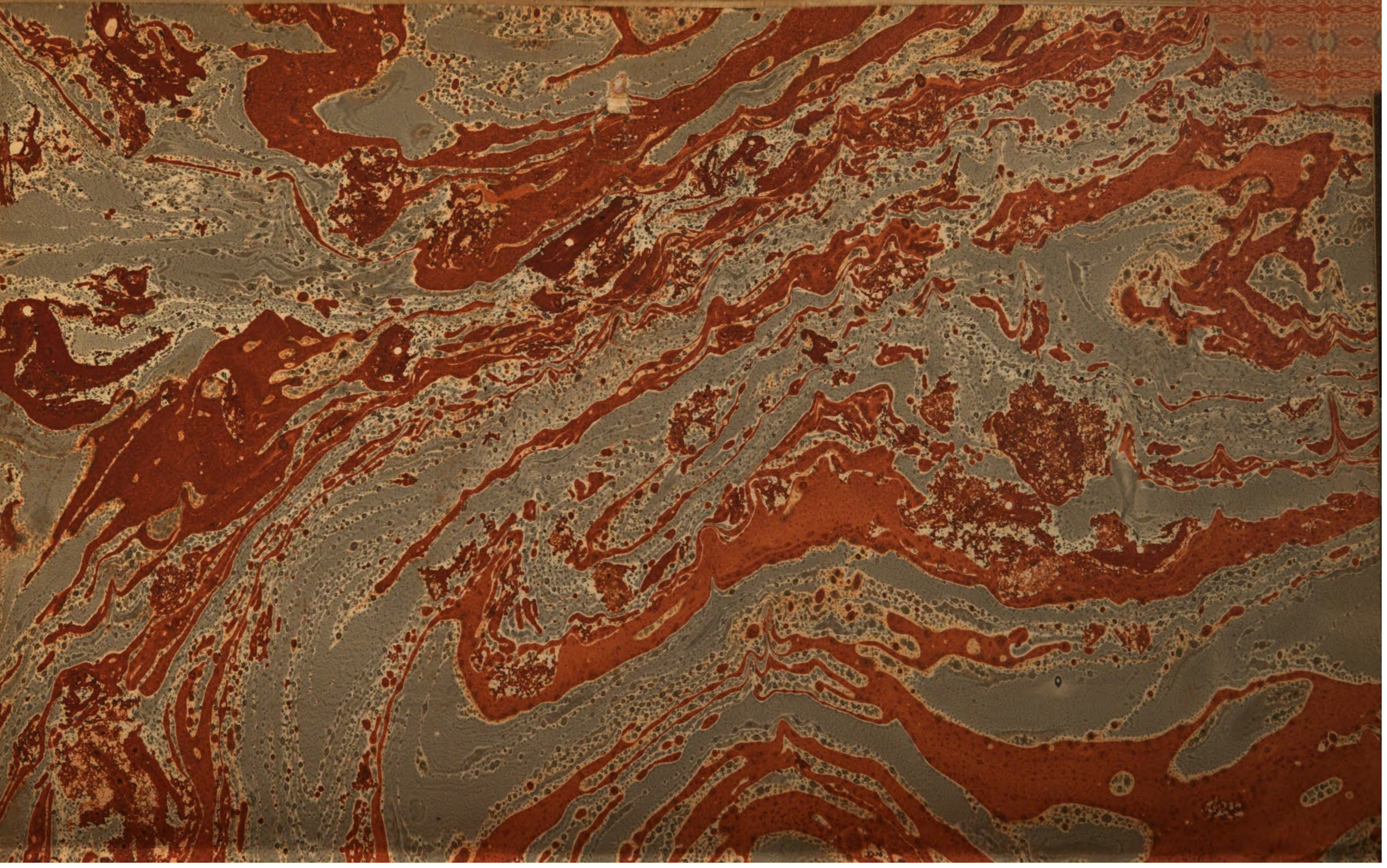

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VOYAGE

TO

BUENOS AYRES,

PERFORMED

IN THE YEARS 1817 AND 1818,

BY ORDER OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT,

Henry Marie

BY *H. M. BRACKENRIDGE, Esq.*

SECRETARY TO THE MISSION.

LONDON:

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ADVERTISEMENT

THE Public Interest excited by the political state and social prospects of South America, rendering every account of those countries in a peculiar degree interesting, the Editor of this Journal has availed himself of the late mission from the United States to the Provinces of LA PLATA, and here introduces to his reader the narrative part of the published details of Mr. Brackenridge.

That gentleman has presented to the world two luminous volumes on the subject of South America, in which many valuable disquisitions, historical and political, have been mixed with his personal adventures and local observations,—but, in the pages which follow, the former have been rejected, and only the latter preserved.

The selection has been made with reference to the objects and character of this Journal, for Mr. Brackenridge is on all subjects worthy of attention; and we can recommend his entire work, which has been handsomely reprinted in London, to the attention of every enlightened political enquirer.

The present Number completes the THIRD VOLUME of this series, and we feel it our duty to acknowledge the liberal support with which the monthly numbers and half-yearly volumes have been honoured; and to add, that our persevering exertions shall be continued, to maintain the interest and character of the work.

Altho' it has been found necessary to raise the price of the Numbers to 3*s.* 6*d.*, to enable us to do justice to the valuable and splendid works which we are called upon to present to the public, yet the volumes of six Numbers will be sold at a guinea, in elegant half-binding.

August 1820.

INTRODUCTION.

PERHAPS no sovereigns ever possessed an empire of such vast extent and importance as that of the kings of Spain in America. The South American continent alone, when considered with relation to its capacities and future destinies, is probably *equal to all the rest of the habitable globe.* Its geographical surface is less, indeed, than that of Africa, but when we consider how small a part of that continent is capable of sustaining human life, how bad its climate, and how deficient in rivers, the veins and arteries of the earth, it sinks in the scale far below the new world. Of Europe, much is given up to excessive cold; and of Asia, immense portions are barren and uninhabitable.

The position of South America, as relates to the United States, to Europe, Africa, and Asia, holds out the most singular advantages for commerce. When the commerce of the east comes to receive that direction which seems to be pointed out by nature, through the Carribean sea and the gulf of Mexico, America will then be the acknowledged centre of the earth.

Spanish America is distributed into four viceroyalties; New Spain, New Grenada, Peru, and Rio de la Plata; and into the captain-generalships of Yukatan, Guatimala, Venezuela, Chili, and Cuba. The islands belonging to, or claimed by Spain, are Cuba, Porto-Rico, Margarita, and St. Andrews. In the Pacific, she possesses the Archipelago of Chiloe, and the island of Juan Fernandez, with some others on the coast of Chili. With the exception of Peru, (sometimes called Lima from its capital), *all Spanish America has been the theatre of revolutionary struggles, or is now actually in possession of the patriots.* The viceroyalty of Grenada, a territory more extensive than our old thirteen states, was for several years the scene of a bloody contest for independence. The incidents of this contest in the provinces of Carthagena, Santa Martha, Choco, Popayan, and Quito, are familiar to most readers. The blaze has subsided, but the fire is not yet extinguished, nor will be, until there cease to be any combustible materials. The incidents of the war in Venezuela, are also tolerably well-

known; but, excepting in the island of Margarita, the contest still rages. On the plains of Calabozo and Caraccas, the bloody and exterminating war, it is feared, will not soon be brought to a close. It is only in the viceroyalty of La Plata, that the progress of independence has been firm and sure. It is true, this mighty cause has been desperately contested in the rugged mountains of the provinces on the heads of the Paraguay and Amazon; the theatre on which La Plata has been struggling for liberty, with various success, for the last eight years. Chili, in close alliance with this republic, may bid defiance to Spain; without this, if we may judge from the past, the question is doubtful. The only viceroyalty of South America which has remained quiet from the beginning of the contest, is Peru; the most feeble, and with the exception of its mineral wealth, the least important of them all.

In the physical configuration of America, there are many interesting peculiarities. The great traveller Humboldt has exhibited the principal of these, in the works already published by him; in those which he is still preparing for the press, the magnificent outline will be filled up. The most striking features of the new world, constituting the principal difference between it and the other quarters of the globe, *are its mountains and rivers.* The chain of the Andes is undoubtedly the longest in the world, traversing both North and South America, and in some points, (unless we except the mountains of Thibet), the most elevated. Beyond the isthmus these mountains separate, and traverse the continent in three distinct chains or ridges. The first is the Cordilleras, which runs along the Pacific, and is, in fact, a continuation of the rocky mountains of North America. The second is the chain which branches from the Cordillera in the province of Quito, passes through New Grenada towards the Atlantic, and pursuing a course nearly parallel, is interrupted by the Oronoko, re-appears in Guyana, and approaches the Amazon, when it is in like manner broken by the immense valley of this river. It afterwards shews itself in Brazil, traversing it in the whole extent, again subsiding in the highlands of Maldonado, near La Plata. The third chain, called the Eastern Cordillera of Peru, runs towards the Tropic, whence it takes an inclined direction, and terminates in the south-east, in the plains of the Grand Chaco. There are, besides, a number of interior chains, particularly those which separate the vallies of the great rivers of Brazil. From the eastern ridges, there is a gradual slope to the interior, while on the coast their ascent is abrupt and steep. Their elevation is considerably less than the Cordillera or Andes, and they are more irregular and broken. The vast tract of country which

stretches along the heads of the Amazon and La Plata, upwards of three thousand miles in length, and probably more than three hundred in breadth, is one of the most rugged and mountainous on the globe; it is a continued succession of deep vallies, of various dimensions, enclosed by mountains whose summits, in general, are covered with perpetual snows. In the northern part, there are plains of such elevation as to afford all the advantages of the most temperate and delightful climates; to the south, the vallies are in general lower, and although extremely fertile, are more hot.

The coast of the Atlantic differs, in several very important particulars, from that of the Pacific. Being in general bold and rocky, and having the estuaries of the great rivers, it affords a number of the finest harbours in the world. The coast of Brazil especially, a length of three thousand miles, is highly favoured in this particular. La Plata forms an exception, and it is probable that there are no very good harbours south of that river. The whole extent of this coast is highly fertile, and capable of sustaining the most crowded population. The coast of the Pacific, on the opposite side of the continent, is, with some interruptions, sterile and dreary; and as it never rains over a great proportion of it, there are considerable tracks as barren as the deserts of Arabia. These almost entirely interrupt the land-communication between Lima and Chili, and even form considerable obstacles to the intercourse between the different districts of the vice-royalty. It is somewhat surprising, that the African camel has never been introduced for the purpose of travelling over these sandy plains, although in use in Mexico. The communication between different places on the Pacific, is therefore carried on by water; but there is great difference between the voyage north, and that to the south; the latter having to encounter adverse wind and current. Although the coast of the Pacific is not so well furnished with commodious harbours as that of Brazil and Terra Firma, there are a number which possess considerable advantages. It is remarkable, that the same difficulties exist in the internal communication between different places on the opposite sides of the continent, but for different reasons; on the Atlantic, the extraordinary mass of vegetation, which covers the ground, opposes the most serious obstacle to the opening of roads; obstacles that in this country we can scarcely conceive; the thickest cane-breaks in the southern parts of the United States are trifling impediments compared to them; besides, the facilities of navigation on that delightful coast, where dangers by sea are almost unknown, take away all inducements to any extraordinary labor in making highways. Between the two great

cities of St. Salvador and Rio Janeiro, there is no land-communication, and much of the intermediate space is occupied by ferocious and unsubdued Indians.

To make amends for the difficulties of internal intercourse by land, there is no part of the world which possesses such a number of fine navigable rivers as South America. An elegant writer has observed, "that of all the portions of the globe, America is that which is best watered;" there are at least fifty rivers, as large as the Rhine or Danube, whose names are scarcely known, even to those who may be considered as well-informed respecting South America. These, at some future day, will afford the means of carrying on an internal trade, compared to which that of China, so much boasted, will appear insignificant. Those mighty rivers the Magdalena, Oronoko, the Amazon, the Plata, and their hundred arms, stretching in every direction over the continent, will afford facilities of intercourse between the remotest regions.

The points at which the two oceans may be connected, have given rise to frequent speculation; I shall probably, in the course of this work, make some observations on the subject; at present, I will only remark, that from every thing I have been able to learn, the most eligible is that from Guasacualco Tehuantepec. Should this isthmus become the connecting point, it will be a subject of great interest to the United States. New Orleans or Havanna will then probably be the great mart of the East India trade. From the Balize a steam-boat would run down in a few days to Guasacualco; and, at farthest, two days would suffice for the transportation of merchandize to the Pacific. By this means, a direct intercourse would be established, between Europe and the United States, with the countries on the Western ocean. The introduction of steam-boats on this coast, as well as on that of Brazil, and in the Carribean sea, will no doubt follow in the course of improvement, and will effect the most singular changes in human affairs. Great difficulties oppose the passage across the Isthmus of Darien or Panama; a proof of which is, that Spain, instead of sending troops to Lima in this direction, prefers the circuitous voyage round Cape Horn. It is true, however, that a very considerable trade has always been kept up between Porto Bello and Panama, notwithstanding the ruggedness of the passage. But the important trade of Spain with the East Indies has been carried on from Acapulco, the only good port of New Spain; while the products of Lima and Guiaquill have been transported across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. In the hands of an enterprizing nation, this wonderful country would be found to possess facilities of communication approximating remote

parts, which at present can scarcely be imagined; at the same time, that there exists the most extraordinary advantages for defence, when it should require the interruption of that intercourse. At present, the inhabitants north of the Oronoko, on account of the uninhabitable wilderness of Amazonia, have no direct communication with the provinces on the Plata; they are almost as completely separated as if they were on opposite sides of the ocean. The eastern ridges of the Andes oppose a barrier scarcely less formidable.

Humboldt has remarked, that in no part of the world is the population so unequally distributed as in Spanish America. This principally arises from the circumstance of the Spaniards occupying the same seats, with the half-civilized Aborigines whom they subdued. In Mexico, in the kingdom of the Incas in Peru, and of the Zac of St. Fee de Bogota, the population was very considerable, and in a state of civilization not much below that of the East Indies. In these countries the Indians still constitute the great mass of population; the lower class are an indolent harmless peasantry, and, in the comforts of civilized life, probably not below the boors of Russia, or even the peasantry of Poland or Hungary. By a long and systematic course of oppression, they have become spiritless and submissive, although on a few occasions, when roused by chiefs of their own origin, whom they venerate, they have manifested acts of great desperation; as in the instance of the insurrection of Tapac Amaru, which broke out in the year 1783, in the upper provinces of La Plata.

There have even appeared among the Indians, men distinguished for their literary attainments; Garcillasco and Torquemada, two of the best historians of the new world, were of the Aboriginal race; one a descendant of the Incas, the other a citizen of the republic Tlascala, who availed himself of the Roman alphabet, forty years after the conquest, to write a history of the important events which had taken place. The preceptor of the celebrated astronomer Velasques, was a Mexican Indian. In the universities of Lima and Mexico, there are professorships of the native languages, into which several works have been translated. Tupac Amaru was a well educated and accomplished gentleman; he was driven to desperation, in consequence of his unavailing efforts to obtain some alleviation in the treatment of the common people, the descendants of those who had been the subjects of his ancestors. The lower class of the Spaniards think themselves superior to the Indian peasantry; but there is little or no distinction between the higher classes of mixed blood, and the American Spaniards. In fact, in all parts of South America, with the exception of

Caraccas, Chili, and the Provincias Internas, the American Spaniard contains more or less mixture with the native races.

The American Spaniards are next in point of numbers, but they are much more important, in consequence of their possessing greater privileges, better education, and more general wealth. Although they are the great landholders of the country, their influence is less than it might be, on account of their careful exclusion from participation in the government; it being the policy of Spain, to keep them in a state of idleness and vice, as the surest means of retaining her sway in these distant countries; they have, therefore, been deprived of nearly all those incentives which tend to elevate the character of a people.

Perhaps, the most remarkable and peculiar class of population in Spanish America, are the herdsmen, or shepherds, who are met with chiefly in New Spain, in Venezuela, and on the La Plata. There is probably a considerable resemblance between the shepherds of these different districts, separated by such vast distances, but where the habits of life are much alike. These men, who have made a retrograde step from civilization, are every where represented as possessing powerful and athletic frames, and bold independent minds, but extremely rude and uninformed. If there be any difference in the herdsmen inhabiting the countries just mentioned, I am inclined to think that those of La Plata are more savage and ferocious; which may arise from their leading a more solitary life, and having fewer of the comforts of civilization.

The proportion of negroes in Spanish America was by no means great, excepting in Caraccas and the islands. In Peru, there was a much greater number than in Mexico; but from the privileges they enjoyed, it is evident that their condition was not severe. In Mexico there was no necessity for the introduction of slaves, in consequence of the great number of Indian labourers, and the cheapness of labour; these people, who were in a low state even under their own kings, were studiously kept in the lowest degradation by their new masters. while the kings of Spain were desirous of elevating them to the rank of subjects; for it seems that they were sunk too low in the scale of beings, even in the eyes of the European sovereign.

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A VOYAGE TO BUENOS AYRES.

CHAPTER I.

Voyage from Norfolk to Rio Janeiro—Description of Rio—Coronation—General Description of Brazil.

THE civil war, which continues to rage between Spain and the different provinces of South America, had long attracted the attention of the people of the United States. Whatever our wishes might be, it became us to maintain a perfect neutrality between the contending parties. The ability manifested by the South Americans to maintain the contest, the important successes obtained by them, the declining state of the Spanish resources, and the probable termination of the contest, in the independence of South America, rendered it necessary that preparations should be made for the establishment of peace and amity with the new states, in case their struggle should be ultimately crowned with success. This, and other motives, induced the president to send a friendly mission to the different governments of South America, to give them assurances of our determination to maintain a perfect neutrality in the contest, considering them as engaged in a civil war with the king of Spain, and therefore on a footing of equality as to neutral rights. With a view also of ascertaining the kind of relations it might be proper hereafter to establish with the South American states, or for the purpose of regulating our present intercourse, it was desirable to obtain the best information as to their character and resources. The objects of the mission are thus stated by the president, in his message to Congress: "To obtain correct information on every subject, in which the United States are interested; to inspire just sentiments in all persons in authority, on either side, of our friendly disposition,

so far as it may comport with an impartial neutrality; and to secure proper respect to our commerce in every port, and from every flag, it has been thought proper to send a ship of war with three distinguished citizens, along the southern coast, with instructions to touch at such ports as they may find most expedient for these purposes. With the existing authorities, with those in the possession of, and exercising the sovereignty, must the communication be held; from them alone can redress for past injuries, committed by persons acting under them, be obtained; by them alone can the commission of the like, in future, be prevented."

The mission was composed of the following gentlemen, Cæsar A. Rodney, John Graham, and Theodorick Bland, commissioners, and H. M. Brackenridge, secretary. William T. Reed, and Thomas Rodney, (son of the commissioner,) accompanied the mission. The commissioners arrived at Norfolk, in the steam-boat, on the 28th of November, 1817, where the frigate Congress, commanded by Commodore Arthur Sinclare, who had been selected for this purpose, was ready to receive them on-board. Owing to some delay in transmitting the orders for sailing, the mission did not embark until the 3d of December. In the mean time, we were treated with every mark of attention and civility by the people of Norfolk, who do not yield to the rest of Virginia in that elegant hospitality for which the state is justly celebrated. The difference in the climate between this place and Baltimore is very sensible. We had just escaped the skirts of winter; the warmth of the sun, the softness of the air, and the appearance of vegetation, seemed to carry us back to the middle of autumn—that season, which may be styled the *glory of the American skies.*

On the 4th, the Congress weighed anchor and put to sea. Commodore Sinclare had taken pains to render our accommodations as comfortable as possible for a long and tedious voyage. It is very certain, that the voyage could not be made under more agreeable circumstances; in a noble frigate, manned by an excellent crew, and commanded by officers of experience and skill. There were several lieutenants, and a number of midshipmen on-board, beyond the usual complement; the voyage being considered an interesting one, it was a desirable object among the naval gentlemen to engage in it. To me, the little world to which I found myself transferred, continually presented a thousand objects to instruct and amuse. The order and cleanliness which prevailed in every part of the vessel, excited my admiration; every thing seemed to move like clock-work, and although there were four hundred souls on-board, we appeared to be no way crowded or encumbered.

Every pains were taken by the commander, to preserve the health of his crew; in having to cross both tropics and the equinoctial line, no precautions could be thought superfluous. There was but one circumstance calculated in any way to lessen the satisfaction felt by every one at the auspicious commencement of the voyage; the term of enlistment of the greater part of the crew, would probably expire before the voyage could be completed; the consequence to be feared would be, at the least, a discontent, and a want of inclination to the performance of their duty. The commodore, aware of difficulties which had arisen under similar circumstances, mustered all hands on the evening previous to our sailing; gave them a short address; in which he told them, that the cruise they were about to make, would be in a mild and delightful climate, where they would escape the northern winter; that their return might possibly be delayed a few months longer than their term of service, but that this would be more than compensated by the agreeableness of the cruise; that they would be no losers even if they were disposed to enter into the merchant-service, as seamen's wages were at this time extremely low; he concluded by promising them every reasonable indulgence at the places at which he should touch. The address was received with three cheers, and each one seemed to repair to his duty with alacrity.

We steered from the capes on an east-half-south course with a leading wind, the weather cold and unpleasant. The entrance into the gulf-stream is easily ascertained by the difference of temperature between the air and water. On soundings about fifty-five miles east of Cape Henry, the air was forty degrees of Farenheit, while the water was fifty-nine degrees. The air soon afterwards rose to forty-three, and the water suddenly to sixty-eight. The air then continued to vary from forty to forty-five, and the water from seventy-two to seventy-five until we had run upon the same course, the wind at north-west, eighty-seven miles; when the water fell to seventy-one, and continued between that and sixty-eight, until the air rose to the same temperature. "Thus," says commodore Sinclare, "I computed the distance of the gulf-stream, east from Cape Henry, to be about one hundred and twenty miles, and the body of it in the same direction about ninety miles across, but in steering east there is no doubt that the influence of the stream is felt for several hundred miles; as from Cape Hatteras, where the gulf alters its north-east to an easterly direction, to the latitude of Cape Henry, it inclines as much off as east-north-east, and expands its width as it loses its strength." During winter there are continual vapors, arising from the

troubled waters of the gulf-stream; the atmosphere appears dark and heavy, and the sea looks wild and frightful. The effect of this immense river of warm water flowing directly in front of our continent, must necessarily be very great on the American climate. May not this be one of the causes of those sudden changes in the temperature of which we hear so many complaints?

Nothing material occurred until the 17th, when, about latitude twenty-nine degrees thirty minutes, a severe gale set in, which lasted forty-eight hours. Storms have been described by so many writers, and so much better than I can describe this one, that I think it unnecessary to say any thing further than that the descriptions are much more agreeable than the reality. The spectacle was indeed sublime, but it is probable I should have enjoyed it more, if there had been less of the terrific. The ship was stripped of her sails, excepting her main-top sail, which was close-reefed, and her storm stay-sail; her top-gallant masts and her principal yards were lowered, her jibboom rigged in, and a variety of other precautions were taken, such as housing the guns and carrying the shot below. The ship was then laid to, and rode out the storm with ease and safety. During this unpleasant time I did not venture on deck, for such was the violence of the wind and the motion of the ship, that it was almost impossible to stand up: even the sailors required the help of ropes stretched along on each side of the ship. The rapidity and order with which every thing was conducted during this time was admirable; there was no noise or bustle among them. Excepting now and then the shrill whistle of the boatswain, nothing was heard but the rushing of the furious element through the shrouds, and the tumbling and roaring of the sea around us. The appearance of the sun and the gradual subsiding of the tempest was a reason of joy to me; but the hardy mariners, accustomed to all weathers, scarcely considered it a circumstance of sufficient importance to produce any alteration in their feelings.

The wind continued baffling, with occasional squalls, and a great deal of rain; and as it continued to hang to the east and north-east, we were delayed in getting our easting until about the 27th. In the latitude of twenty-four degrees north, and longitude thirty-three degrees thirty minutes west, we took a fresh trade from the east. We now fell into the track of vessels bound from Europe to the West Indies. Several of these vessels were spoken by us; one of them had been sixty-three days from Bremen, and was bound to Havanna. The extraordinary length of this passage is to be attributed to the excessive caution of Dutch navigators, who lay-to on the slightest

occasion, and always carry but little sail. The Americans are probably the boldest navigators in the world, and yet are universally admitted to be the most fortunate. A timid precaution in avoiding every visible danger, very often exposes us to still greater dangers which we do not foresee.

On the 2d of January we found ourselves, by the chronometer, within sixty miles of the island of Brava, one of the Cape de Verds. An indication, still more certain, was the great number of birds flying about us, principally the species called the man-of-war bird, which is rarely seen at greater distance than a degree from land. For an account of these islands I must refer the reader to Macartney's Embassy to China. To many persons it is not known why vessels bound to parts of South America beyond the equator, should thus be compelled to stretch over to the coast of Africa, although the subject is very familiar to navigators. On casting the eye upon the map, it will be seen that Cape St. Roque, the most eastern point of South America, projects into the Atlantic as far east as thirty-three or thirty-four degrees west longitude, and thus forms in fact the entrance of a vast gulf, of which that of Mexico is properly nothing more than the bottom, or recess. A powerful north-west current constantly sets into this recess, with which, as well as with the south-east trade-winds, vessels must contend in attempting to double the cape too near the American continent. Vessels happening to be driven too far to the westward, must try to regain the point where they lost the variable winds, so as to enable them to make their easting. Dreadful shipwrecks have been known in consequence of crossing the line too far to the west, and being thus driven on the coast. Here is a great drawback on the intercourse between the United States and the West Indies, with those parts of South America which lie to the windward, especially beyond Cape St. Roque. Navigators do not agree, however, as to the exact point at which the equator should be crossed; for a too near approach to the African coast is equally to be avoided. Instead of the trade-winds, which constantly refresh the shores of the American continent, the opposite coast of Africa is the region of calms, more dreadful than tempests or hurricane. From ten degrees north to the line, and between thirteen and twenty-three degrees west longitude, there is a region of endless calm, but not such as we fancy to ourselves from the meaning of the word; it is a succession of thunder-storms, heavy rains and whirlwinds, with dreadful intermission of close and suffocating heat. To find a middle course is the aim of navigators. Much has been said and written as to the best mode of avoiding this scylla and charybdis, but it is pretty generally agreed, that it

should be crossed between the twenty-seventh and twenty-third degrees of longitude. Commodore Sinclare resolved to take the mean between these two extremes.

We did not gain the regular north-east trade-winds until after passing the islands before mentioned, and we had a great run until we reached the seventh degree of north latitude, when they gradually left us. From the 31st of December until the 5th of January, we made upwards of nine hundred miles; after this a most distressing calm set in, which continued until the 17th of the month. In the mean time, we were drifted by an easterly current nearly two hundred miles; that is, from about twenty-three to nineteen degrees west. This was one of the most disagreeable periods of my life. It appeared as if we had been condemned to perish in this dismal region: a black sea around us, and above us a gloomy sky; dark shapeless clouds continually gathering, as if to contend with the sun, whose fierce vertical rays, occasionally bursting forth, seemed almost to burn.

The arch of the horizon was diminished in a most surprising manner, as if presaging a dreadful storm. The decks were kept wet and continually covered with awning. An expression of despondency was seen in the countenances of all, while the vessel was rolling about on the heavy sullen waves. We were continually watching every quarter of the compass, and endeavouring to catch once more a glimpse of hope from every breath of air, scarcely sufficient to cause the sails to flap against the masts. I called to recollection the celebrated description of a calm at sea, by Marmontel.

We were at length favoured with occasional light winds, which drifted rather than wafted us towards the equator. Commodore Sinclare observes, "Had I been aware of circumstances which occurred, and which were beyond human wisdom to foresee, I am under a belief that I could have shortened my passage fifteen or twenty days. I was in the first instance straining every nerve to gain easting before leaving the variables, which had been found so difficult to effect in the trade-winds. I was driven in longitude forty-three degrees west, as far south as latitude twenty-nine degrees north, when fearing to enter the trades with so little easting, I tacked and stood north, with the wind heavy from east-north-east, and after getting as far north again as latitude thirty-four, I got a heavy gale of wind from north-east, which blew so strong for about forty-eight hours, I could not venture to avail myself of it in steering to the south-east, but was forced to lay-to; whereas, had I been aware of the south-west winds between the trades, which, with a strong easterly current, between latitudes four

degrees and thirty minutes, and one degree thirty minutes north—longitudes twenty-three and nineteen degrees west, which set from two and a half knots the hour to three-quarters of a knot, and from east by north to east-south-east, until it drifted us as much as two hundred miles to the eastward, (by our chronometer) I might have ventured to have entered the trades in longitude forty-three degrees—and saved all the beating I afterwards had, to gain what I thought a prudent longitude to venture out of the variables. I was under the impression that I ought to lose the north-east trade at least as high as twenty-two or twenty-three degrees west, as, from all writers on this subject, you will find that from latitude five degrees north, you get the wind from about south, which gradually, as you approach the line, draws to south-south-east, and after crossing it to south-east, which would force you down to about twenty-seven degrees before you could gain the line, from which point even it is not uncommon for dull-sailing ships to fall in with the Brazil coast too far to the north."

When nearly under the line we were once more blessed with clear skies, and a fine breeze drawing gradually round to the south-south-east, while pleasure and cheerfulness again lighted up the countenances of every one. The temperature of the air was delightfully refreshing, and when contrasted with the dismal regions we had escaped, it is impossible to describe our satisfaction at the change. We crossed the line in longitude twenty degrees twenty minutes, the breeze continuing to freshen every hour. According to immemorial custom, the usual ceremonies were performed on this important occasion, and were productive of much innocent mirth and gaiety; but an account of particulars would probably afford no entertainment to the reader, as they varied but little from those which have been so repeatedly detailed by voyagers. We had thus far enjoyed excellent health, even the unpleasant calm we had experienced occasioned no sickness among the crew, owing in a great measure to the cleanliness on-board American ships, and the precautions so carefully taken.

Being now fairly in the trades, our course was hardly interrupted for a moment; we had a steady breeze filling all our sails, and a smooth sea. Nothing could be more agreeable than the temperature of the air; the sails required little or no attention, but there was no want of employment in this little busy world. I could not have imagined such a variety of occupations as the seamen were continually engaged in. The officers, not on duty, spent their time in reading and study, while the midshipmen, fifteen or twenty in number, were kept closely to their books. There was no lounging, no idleness,

no silly gossipping, no loud talking; and as to intemperance, this is regarded, on-board an American man-of-war, as a vice for which there is no forgiveness. The north-star gradually disappeared, and its place was imperfectly supplied by the constellation of the cross, and the Magellanic clouds. The constellations of the southern hemisphere are thought by some to be more brilliant than those of the northern; the sight of so many new stars, which I had never expected to behold, and the disappearance of the greater part of those I had gazed on from infancy, naturally inspired a variety of strange sensations. The brilliant phosphoric light which marked at night the track of the ship, resembling that of the comet, very frequently amused us, and caused our wonder, when we reflected that it was produced by myriads of small insects possessing the properties of the glow-worm, or fire-fly. The flying-fish was occasionally seen darting through the air for a few hundred yards, and then plunging again into a more congenial element. They often fall on-board merchant-vessels, but the height of the frigate above the water prevented them from passing over us. In latitude nine degrees south, we ran over a turtle of prodigious size, which appeared to have been lying asleep on the surface of the water; the nearest land was the island of Fernando de Noronha, distant at least four hundred miles.

As we drew up with the coast of Brazil, the lead was kept continually going. On the 26th, we passed over a bed of coral rock, much farther out than is laid down by any chart, and kept soundings in thirty-five fathoms for five or six leagues, steering south-west, and suddenly fell off into very deep water. This spot was determined to be in south latitude twenty degrees thirty minutes, and in longitude thirty-seven degrees thirty minutes, by a very good chronometer.

The hope of soon approaching land awakened a new interest in our breasts. Even the hardy sons of the ocean seemed to be cheered with the prospect; much greater therefore must have been the gratification of mere landsmen. By our observations and reckoning, we expected by twelve o'clock on the 27th to make Cape Frio, a headland of great celebrity with mariners. During the greater part of the forenoon all were anxiously looking out for it, and about one it was descried by the man stationed at the mast-head; but it was not until two or three that it could be seen from deck; and even then for some time only by those who were accustomed to distinguish the loom of the land from the low clouds which skirt the horizon. We found our reckoning within eighteen miles of being correct, having been set somewhat to the southward by a current, which usually sets with the wind along the coast. By ob-

servation we were in twenty-three degrees nine minutes south, and by chronometer in forty-one west. Cape Frio was seen at the distance of fifteen or twenty miles; its appearance is so remarkable, and so easily recognized, from the description of navigators, that it is impossible to mistake it. It seemed to be a high promontory, its summit presenting a waving line, with places somewhat comical; and when first seen it has the appearance of two separate islands, from a hollow in the middle. The clouds rested on its summit. It appeared to be an immense naked rock, incapable of affording sustenance to any living thing, and yet I felt a kind of pleasure in contemplating this hugh inhospitable mass, being weary of seeing nothing for nearly sixty days but the sky and water.

Having ascertained where we were, the commodore gave orders to stand along down the land, under easy sail. It was somewhat squally during the night, as is usual in the neighbourhood of these headlands. Before day it fell calm, when we descried the sugar-loaf, the entrance of the harbour of Rio Janeiro bearing west-south-west, at the distance of twenty miles; by which it appeared, that we had been set twenty-one miles to the westward by the current. There appeared before us an irregular line of high rocky coast, and a person not accustomed to measure distances by the eye, would have thought himself not more than a few miles off, and the rocks, instead of mountains, to be little more than a hundred feet high. The sugar-loaf, a leaning cone, looked like a watch-tower at the termination of a high irregular rampart; it forms the western portal of the entrance of the harbour, towards which it leans as if frowning on those who approach. Immediately on the opposite side there is the same kind of rock, though not quite so high, but more broken and irregular. A light breeze springing up from the land, we worked in towards the shore, and as we approached discovered high mountains in the back-ground, whose tops rose above the regions of the clouds. Every object of nature is here on the boldest and most magnificent scale. In the evening we came to anchor within a few miles of the forts which command the entrance to the harbour, and Lieutenant Clack was despatched by the commodore, to wait on the commander of the fort and to obtain a pilot. The number of vessels continually entering and leaving the harbour, gave us a high opinion of the commercial importance of the city we were about to visit. The anchorage is excellent every where along the coast. Before the entrance there are a number of small islands from two to six miles out, of various sizes and appearances. They seem to be small detached knobs or hills, gradually sloping on every side to the water's edge, with

a thick covering of shrubs and vines, and their summits crowned with palm-trees. They are uninhabited, although some of them are several miles in circumference. The largest vessel may sail with perfect safety between them, as the water is, with scarcely an exception, bold and deep.

Early next morning, the pilot having come on-board, more for the sake of complying with every necessary precaution than because his services were necessary, we passed into the spacious harbour of Rio. The entrance is about a mile wide, and probably the safest and easiest in the world. We passed, on the right, fort Santa Cruz, built upon a shelf of the rock, with several tier of guns, and most formidable in its appearance. Strong works are also erected on the steep rock behind it, from which it is separated by a singular cleft, crossed by a draw-bridge. On the left, under the sugar-loaf, there is another fort, but comparatively of not much consequence; as the best channel lies pretty close to Santa Cruz, vessels generally pass directly under its guns. We passed another small fort just within the harbour. The place is said to be very strongly fortified; it certainly possesses extraordinary natural facilities for this purpose. It was forced about the beginning of the last century by the celebrated French mariner, Dugai Trouin, who took possession of the city, and laid it under contribution; but its fortifications were in consequence greatly improved.

As we entered the harbour, a most magnificent scene opened upon us. The noble basin, scarcely surpassed by any in the world, resembling a large lake rather than a harbour, expanded majestically, bordered by high woody mountains, interspersed with rocky peaks and precipices; their ridges or spurs sloping down to the water's edge, in some places terminating abruptly, in others leaving narrow vallies and a thousand beautiful coves or recesses, with sandy beaches. The ridges or broken grounds, below the mountains, are covered with convents, churches, and beautiful gardens, while the little indents or sandy bays are occupied by elegant country-seats; a great many of them constructed by Portuguese noblemen, since the establishment of the court at this place, or by English merchants, who have grown rich since the opening of trade. A range of much higher mountains is seen to the north-east, probably at least forty or fifty miles distant. The city of Rio Janeiro, or St. Sebastian, is built in one of the coves just mentioned, under the mountain, the houses much crowded together; and independently of the buildings perched on heights, or raised on the neighbouring vallies, it would not possess a very imposing appearance: but the quantity of shipping gave proofs of a busy and active commerce.

The ship was scarcely moored in front of the city, when an officer, dressed in rich uniform, came on-board; and had no sooner set his foot on deck, than he became as familiar as if he had been acquainted with us for twenty years. He spoke very good English, and strutted about, repeating the expression, "d——d fine ship, sir—very fine ship, indeed." He went below with very little ceremony, and required no pressing to refresh himself with a glass of wine. This lively fellow, after cracking his jokes, took the liberty of putting a few queries to the commodore, such as the name of the ship, the length of her voyage, her destination, and her object in touching at this port. Suitable answers having been given to these, he took his departure, expressing great admiration of what he had seen. We learned from him that the Ontario, Captain Biddle, had sailed from this place about a month before our arrival. A few days afterwards, I saw this important personage sitting very soberly in a room in front of the palace, where he is employed, I understand, as a kind of messenger, or in some office to which we have nothing analogous in our country. According to previous arrangement, salutes were fired, first twenty-one guns for the king, which were returned by one of the forts, and afterwards fifteen guns for the admiral, which he returned from his ship, a seventy-four, lying between us and the shore, at the distance of a quarter of a mile. The Portuguese appear to be extremely fond of expending their powder; hardly an hour of the day passed without the sound of cannon in some direction or other.

I felt impatient to set my foot once more on the fixed and stedfast earth, as well as some curiosity to behold this great city, now the capital of the Portuguese empire.* In the afternoon a boat put off for the shore, and some of us took advantage of this opportunity. Our ship lay about half a mile off, and we had to pass the vessels of war, of which the Portuguese have a number of various sizes, but not in the best order, and badly manned. The merchant-vessels lie higher up towards the fortified island, *das Cobras*, on the other side of which is the inner harbour, at present filled with shipping. We discovered several American flags, and from the feelings which they excited in us, I could almost be tempted to say, that *we are the most national people in existence.* The circumstance of our being a solitary republic, and therefore a continual tacit censure on monarchy, perhaps induces us to believe, that kings can have no cordial feeling towards us, and for this reason we cling more closely together. It would be useless to conceal

* Rio Janeiro became the capital of Brazil in the year 1763, Bahia, or San Salvador, being then stripped of that honour.

the truth; every American who goes abroad, has a contempt for royalty and its attendants, and he is only restrained by prudence or good manners from expressing it.

The harbour of New York alone, can bear any comparison to this place, in indications of commercial prosperity. A noble spectacle is exhibited by the number of vessels, a great proportion English, lying at the wharfs, or anchored in the stream. Great numbers of small boats were continually moving about, rigged in a very awkward, clumsy manner, or rowed with a slow and solemn stroke, as if to the tune of *the dead march* in Saul. Among the watermen, a number were Indians; they wore very broad straw-hats, like the Malays, but their physiognomy bore a strong resemblance to the Aborigines of our country. On approaching the queen's stairs, the usual landing-place, we passed a yatch superbly gilt, rigged like a sloop of war, and armed with brass swivels. This childish miniature is kept for the use of the queen, or rather for the sake of pageantry, for I could not learn that it is ever used. Another object excited our disgust; some distance to the left of the stairs, the quay terminates in a prodigious dung-heap, the accumulation of ages from the stables of the city. Possibly, from the extreme fertility of the soil, manure is not required, but one would think that a regard to the police of the city, would require a different disposition to be made of this offensive mass.

A motley collection of people, attracted by curiosity, were lounging about the quay, their looks directed towards the American frigate, as the principal object of their curiosity. I shall not attempt to describe their dress or looks; nothing could be more unlike our countrymen. The English or French fashions do not appear to predominate. Among these people I felt, myself, indeed, a stranger; their countenances made a very unfavourable impression on me, though by no means disposed to judge hastily, for I have been too often taught, by experience, the danger of condemning people by wholesale, merely on account of their looks. The complexions of the middle and lower classes, are generally dark, their features coarse, and their persons in general inclining to corpulency. A number of them were distinguished by ribbons and baubles attached to their button-holes, many wore enormous ill-contrived cocked-hats, and all appeared desirous to distinguish their persons, by the wearing of some badge or uniform. There was no smile of welcome to us in their countenances, but rather repulsive half-scowling glances. A number of them were priests, dressed in loose gowns, and wearing hats as broad as parasols. In front of the palace there is a large open square, at the lower end of which is the king's chapel; on the right, there is an immense unfinished pile, intended as a

monastery, but, on the arrival of the king, a stop was put to any further work on it, as he seemed to think that monks and nuns formed already a sufficient proportion of his subjects. In front of the palace there was a body of infantry constantly on duty, but their arms, with the exception of those who stood sentry, generally stacked; but ever and anon the drum beats, and they fall in. Towards the lower end of the palace, a similar duty is performed by a troop of cavalry, but composed of young men of distinction, as I presumed, from the richness of their uniform and general appearance; they were almost the only good-looking men I saw at Rio, and several of them were uncommonly handsome. Below the landing there is a fountain of fresh water, conveyed hither for the aqueduct, which is constantly surrounded by a crowd of noisy negroes waiting for their turn. I saw about twenty of these miserable wretches chained together by the neck, and each one carrying a bucket of water on his head: they relieved the bodily pain or suffering, by a kind of harsh noise, not unlike that made by a flock of wild geese. I saw others hitched to carts, or carrying burthens, and all screaming in the same style, producing a general effect, of which I can convey no idea.

A part of the square is taken up with some temporary works, preparatory to the coronation or *acclamaçao*, which we understood was to take place in a few days; the ceremony, it is said, has been thus long delayed, principally on account of the expense. Rows of columns formed of boards, covered with canvass, painted to resemble marble, an obelisk, triumphal arches of the same, and a Grecian temple, supported on pillars of the like durable materials, were the most conspicuous among the preparations for the important event. These fine things were already going to decay, although it is probably not more than a few weeks since they were set up: I saw a part of a splendid entablature literally in rags.

Two American gentlemen who had been at this place some time, in the most friendly manner, offered to become our guides. They first conducted us to a kind of boarding-house, where, together with some other foreigners, they had procured lodgings: for there is no respectable inn or coffee-house in the city. I can scarcely imagine how they contrive to dispense with what in our cities appear so necessary. After reposing ourselves here for a short time, we proceeded to reconnoitre the place. Our walk was extremely unpleasant, through narrow and dirty streets, without side-walks. The houses in general have a mean appearance, with projecting galleries on the second story, which approach so near, that two persons might almost shake hands across the street; probably the ancient

Moorish taste. On account of the great number of old-fashioned chaises, principally drawn by mules, which dashed along without paying much attention to any one, we were constantly exposed to the danger of being run over. Great numbers rode also on stud-horses of a small size, whose tails swept the ground, but a still greater number of both sexes were carried about in a kind of sedan-chair, of a curious construction, and generally ornamented with gilding. The curtains were sometimes drawn aside for the purpose of peeping out. The men who were thus carried along, were generally priests and nobles, as I judged by their costume and decorations; for it is not the practice in this country, to lay aside any insignia of distinction, to be used only on days of ceremony or parade. Nothing surprised me more, than the number of persons I saw in the street with decorations of one kind or other; I could not but think, that in becoming so common, and being so frequently exhibited, they must cease to impart dignity or importance to the wearers. Contrasted with the habits and opinions of our country, where man is by nature a noble and dignified being, this idle and silly display produced in my mind the very reverse of respect.

The town seemed to be crowded with inhabitants of every colour and hue, but the proportion of those, who with us would be called white, was by far the least considerable. The Portuguese are generally of a very dark complexion, but the number of negroes and of the mixed race was such, as to give a different cast in the general appearance of the population, from that of any town I have ever seen. We were frequently met by pairs of lazy lounging soldiers, who, it seems, are constantly walking in the streets, with their bayonets, for the purpose of preventing disturbance; their insolent deportment to the lower classes of people, gave the most certain indications of a despotic government. Where the common soldier thinks himself above the mechanic or artizan, and the officer occupies a rank distinct from, and above the people, civil liberty is scarcely more than a name. In the new part of the city the houses are better constructed, but the best have but an indifferent appearance when compared to those in our cities; they seem also to be constructed on a plan calculated to insure a jealous seclusion from every human eye. We visited the public gardens so particularly described in Macartney's Embassy, but whether it was owing to the season, this being the period of frequent rains, or whether attributable to neglect, we found them in a very different state from that which we had been led to expect. We saw but few people in them, and these not of the most prepossessing appearance. In the shrubs and trees of

the garden, I saw but little to attract my attention, except the coffee-plant which grows here in great perfection, and which was at this time loaded with berries. As to much of what I had seen thus far, I found that my residence in New Orleans had made me acquainted with many objects which a citizen of our middle or northern states, who has never been abroad, would contemplate with wonder. On our return towards the quay, we stepped into the king's chapel, where we were told mass had just been said for the Princess Charlotte of England; the news of whose death had reached Rio some time before our arrival. There was a great profusion of ornaments and gilding through the chapel, and behind the altar a picture of the royal family, no way remarkable for design or execution. The priest who had been officiating, a man of gigantic stature, and exhibiting strong indications of good feeding, brushed hastily past us towards the door, with long strides, in order to take a look at our frigate, which was then firing a salute; he was careful, however, although in great haste, and his mind occupied with the idea of powder and smoke, to bow his knee before a crucifix which he had to pass.

I shall not stop to describe the dinner, which was partly American, and partly in the style of the country. The fish of Rio are excellent, the poultry is good, and the beef very indifferent. The vegetables are uncommonly fine, the potatoes are imported from Great Britain. The desert was composed of a great variety of fruits and sweetmeats; the fruits were melons, bananas, mangoes, oranges, and a number of others peculiar to the climate: to the natives, all no doubt exquisite, but by a stranger, even some of those that are most esteemed, are not relished at first. In the immediate vicinity of this place, our northern fruits do not succeed so well; but in the high mountains, to the south-west, I am informed they do. Among the guests at table were two young men, one a Portuguese, and the other a Frenchman by birth; they were both addressed *Signor Condé*, or count, and wore small slips of ribbon in their button-holes. What rank of nobility they held I did not know, they were plain and modest in their demeanor, and but for the designation before-mentioned, I should have taken one of them, who had been touching the piano, for a music-master, and the other for a teacher of the French language. The Frenchman was the more communicative of the two; and in a conversation with him, he gave me to understand that he was in some kind of public employment. I put a number of questions to him respecting the country, but found that he knew very little of the subjects on which I was desirous of being informed. He contented himself with declamation on the magnificence of the

Brazilian empire, and spoke with some warmth of the endeavours of the British government to persuade the royal family to return to Lisbon. He declared, that they would never be able to prevail on the king to exchange his present high and independent situation, in order to place himself once more under the wing of English protection. The English had been greatly disappointed and chagrined by this resolution, but had not yet abandoned the hope of prevailing on him to change it. There may be a more powerful reason than the mere pride of royalty, for not taking this step; it is the uncertainty of his being able to retain this immense country by any other mode than a permanent transfer of his residence. It would be utterly impossible to reduce the Brazils once more to the colonial state, after having once enjoyed an exemption from the colonial restrictions. It is as difficult as it is disagreeable, to contract one's self after having filled a considerable space. One might as well expect to see a youth, who had escaped the restraint of his tutor, return to his pupilage without a struggle. The Portuguese royal family never will, nor ever can, quit the Brazils, unless driven away by the inhabitants. The numerous restraints that have been taken off since they ceased to be a colony, and their rapid expansion, each day increases the difficulty of putting them back to the colonial state.

After dinner we strolled into the garden, shaded with a great many beautiful trees, and adorned with all the rich luxuriance of tropical vegetation. The country-seats along the road on each side, reminded me a good deal of the vicinity of New Orleans. The day was extremely fine, though rather hot, but not more so than a warm day in June or July in the northern parts of the United States. In front of the house, at the distance of a few hundred yards, the mountain rose in bold and rude masses, in some places presenting nothing but a naked precipice of granite; in others, covered with a great variety of beautiful shrubs and trees. A naked peak, called the Parrot Head, intercepted the clouds above us. Its height is 2500 feet; there is a path which leads to the top, but so winding, that the ascent is at least five or six miles.

The whole district of Rio Janeiro is exceedingly mountainous, and its vallies are in general deep and narrow. The mountains are not as lofty as those of Switzerland, but resemble them more than our Alleghanies. Though not covered with snow, they sometimes let loose upon the vallies, what is even more dreadful than the Avalanche; huge masses of earth loosening from the rock, by the moisture insinuated between them in the rainy seasons, slip down, and overwhelm every thing below. It is not long since an instance of this kind oc-

curred, when more than fifty families were buried alive. In the afternoon, the sun having disappeared behind the mountain, its broad shade was now spread over us, and we seated ourselves on the terrace, in order to enjoy the cool air. It was not long before we discovered a cavalcade coming along the road. Mr. Sumpter informed us, it was some of the royal family taking an airing, and that they very frequently passed this way. A couple of Indian-looking dragoons gallop up, their swords rattling by their sides. They were followed at a very considerable distance by several indifferent old-fashioned carriages, carrying the great people. On approaching the house they stopped a few moments, and spoke in a familiar, friendly manner, to Miss Sumpter. The queen and princesses were plain in their dress, and in their manners affable and polite. But for the guards and retinue, I should have taken them to be of the respectable class of citizens. I have seen much more parade in the great people of our own country. I should have felt, I must confess, less respect for royalty, if I had seen it on this occasion arrayed in the pomp and magnificence I had figured to my imagination. Although I had read a great deal of kings, and queens, and princesses, I had no idea that I should feel so little of that awe, supposed to be produced by the irradiations of majesty. Paine observes, "that kings, among themselves, are good republicans;" and being of a country where every citizen is a sovereign, I merely looked upon these people as my equals. The princess Leopoldina was distinguished from the rest, by the fairness of her complexion; I saw nothing remarkable in her appearance, and there are thousands of my countrywomen I would choose in preference for a wife. It is said her situation is extremely unpleasant, in this barbarous land, a land removed so far from the commonweath of courts, and seemingly fitted only for vulgar republicanism. A number of scandalous stories are related respecting the bickerings, and quarrellings, and parties, in the palace; for the house is said to be divided against itself. The cavalcade proceeded along the beach; on passing the barge's crew, composed of twenty-four of our best-looking men, and such as could hardly be picked out of the whole city, these manifested their politeness by touching their hats, and received in return a most gracious inclination of the head from mighty queens and peerless princesses. Royalty stopped some minutes to contemplate the manly erect figures and open countenances of freemen, glowing with the youth and health of our northern climate; and was no doubt struck with the contrast between these modern Greeks, and its own vile, degraded slaves, of the same calling or occupation. Our proud, spirited fellows,

did not, however, choose to imitate the Portuguese, by falling on their knees, until majesty passed by; a species of idolatry which experienced a salutary check in the person of Mr. Sumpter, some time ago. The incident has been related in our newspapers: I shall here give it as I had it from the minister himself. The guards who precede her majesty were in the habit, without respect to persons, of compelling them to dismount and stand with the hat off, until the whole retinue had passed; the insult had been borne without resistance by all the foreign agents here, except the American, whose republican pride could not be brought to stoop to this degradation. He, was, however, desirous to avoid, if possible, bringing the matter to issue. It was at last thrown upon him by necessity; being unable to avoid the cavalcade, he stopped his horse, and saluted the queen; but this was not satisfactory to her majesty, who is represented to be a proud and haughty woman. She ordered her guards to compel him to dismount; but on making the attempt, by brandishing their swords, the American minister stood on the defensive with his stick; on which they retreated, and he went on, leaving her majesty highly offended. The Portuguese minister remonstrated, urging the example of other foreign agents who had submitted; but Mr. Sumpter declared, that if others tamely put up with such insults, it was no reason why he should. He now went armed, and a second attempt being made similar to the first, he was very near shooting the guard. The subject was brought before the king by complaints on both sides; the king inclined in favour of the American minister, and apologized for the insult he had received, at the same time giving assurances that it should not be repeated. The queen, determined not to be out-done, being met again, some time afterwards, she stopped her carriage, and ordered her guards, ten or twelve in number, to go forward and compel the proud republican to pay the just homage to royalty. Mr. Sumpter, who continued to go armed, drew his pistols, dashed through them, approached the queen's carriage, and in a determined manner reminded her of the assurances lately given by the king, asserting his determination never to submit. He went immediately to the king, stated what had passed, declared that he considered his life unsafe, as the queen seemed determined, and he was himself equally so. The king appeared much hurt, and insisted on making an apology with his own hand, which was actually done. He ordered the guards to be imprisoned, and offered to have them punished; but Mr. Sumpter, whose ideas of justice were somewhat different, requested this might not be. The other foreign ministers offered to join Mr. Sumpter

in a remonstrance, but the object was already gained, as the new order extended to all.

Mr. Sumpter entertained a high opinion of the liberality and good intentions of the king; but thought him much at the mercy of his ministers. He is fond of seeing strangers, and there is no great difficulty in being presented. It is usual for commanders of ships-of-war, touching at this place, to go through this ceremony. Commodore Sinclare, according to custom, was presented by our minister at the country palace a few miles from town. He describes him as rather below the middle size, enormously fat, of very dark complexion, large black eyes, with a good-natured face. He was in a military dress, spoke in French to Mr. Sumpter, and asked the commodore a great many questions respecting his profession and country. He professed a great respect for the government of the United States, and declared himself extremely desirous of cultivating its friendship; this, he said, he valued highly, because he knew when we professed a friendship it might be safely relied on. In withdrawing, it is the custom to imitate the movement of a certain animal, not yet the most graceful of the creation, as it is considered indecorous to turn one's back upon the king; the audience-room being very long, the commodore found it inconvenient, and not a little difficult, to *back out* with safety and grace. The commissioners did not think proper to claim the honour of a presentation; having no communication to hold, they could only be regarded here in the light of private citizens.

The day after our visit to Mr. Sumpter, a little excursion was agreed upon by Mr. Reed and myself, with Dr. Baldwin, the surgeon of the Congress, and whose reputation, as a naturalist, is well known. We were desirous of ascending to the top of the Parrot's Head, which we were informed might be accomplished in a day. On our arrival at Mr. Sumpter's, he politely furnished us with a guide, and we proceeded some distance through a valley, which gradually narrowed as we went up a rapid mountain-stream, brawling among loose rocks and stones. A number of negro washerwomen were plying their tasks on its borders. On each side of us we saw bare masses of granite of great height, the water oozing from underneath the vegetation on their summits, and in some places the drippings, collected into a tolerable stream, rushed down several hundred feet. In the season of drought the streams are said to fail, which may possibly be owing to their not being so well supplied with perennial fountains, but in the manner I have described.

At this season, clouds are continually setting on the tops of the mountains, and descending in vapour. The droughts of summer are among the most serious complaints in a great part of Brazil, especially to the west of the first range of mountains. We were greatly surprised to see so much good soil, and such marks of industry and cultivation, where we expected to find every thing waste and barren. In every little winding of the torrent, or shelf of rock, the ground was cultivated, and a neat cottage of brick, covered with burnt tiles, peered amid the thick verdure of tropical fruit-trees. The chief culture near the city is grass, which is cut daily, and carried to town for the supply of the immense number of domestic animals, kept for the pleasure or use of the inhabitants. They cultivate, besides, Indian-corn, coffee, bananas, mangoes, oranges, and the king of fruits, the pine-apple.*

To describe the richness, variety, and beauty of nature, as she appears in these countries, is impossible. Nothing so much strikes the stranger with wonder, as the luxuriant garb with which the earth is clothed in tropical climates; he sees plants and trees entirely new to him, or the few that he has known rising here to a gigantic size; shrubs have become trees, and humble herbs enlarged to shrubs. He sees here, in their native splendour, those productions of the vegetable kingdom, which he was accustomed to admire in hot-houses. Among the most conspicuous are the palms, of many different kinds, the opuntia, and others so often described by travellers in these regions; pyramids of the most beautiful flowers, besides a number of aromatic plants, shed a delightful fragrance; and, as if nature was not satisfied with the exuberance of the earth, a numerous race of parasytes attach themselves to the boughs and trunks of trees, receiving their nourishment from the air. The whole forms a solid perennial impenetrable mass, bound together with innumerable vines or creeping plants.

Nature seems no less prolific in animated creatures—birds of the most brilliant plumage, and the most melodious song—thousands of insects of the most beautiful colours fill the thickets. Innumerable species of lizards are moving in every direction; and it is said that no country is more bountifully replenished with snakes aud venomous reptiles; though we are informed that the inhabitants experience less uneasiness from them than we should imagine.

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* A Portuguese poet has the following conceit:—

He o regio *Ananaz*, fructa tao boa,
Que a mesma Natureza namorada
Quiz como a Rey cingilla de Coroa.

Dr. Baldwin, who lost no time in examining the plants with the eye and skill of the botanist, expressed himself highly gratified. For my part, although at first, as it were, overpowered with admiration and astonishment, I must declare, that, on reflection, I preferred the wild forests of my own country, although stripped of their leaves during a portion of the year. The vegetation is not so strong and so vigorous, but it is more delicate and pleasing to the eye than this unshapen exuberance. When I recollected how often I have wandered along a meandering stream in the shady groves of oak, hickory, poplar, or sycamore of my native country, under whose boughs soft grass and flowery herbs spring up as a carpet to the feet, I could not but give them the preference to the forests of the tropic. It is difficult to conceive how the Indians of this country can make their way with any facility through this continuous hedge. It is not, however, for me to judge of a vast country from the little I have seen; but if all be like this, and I am informed it is so, give me my native groves in preference to all the glories of the south.

After proceeding about two miles in this manner, we began to ascend the mountain by a very steep and winding path. We found this exceedingly fatiguing, which was probably, in some measure, owing to our having been so long shut up and deprived of the usual exercise of our limbs. It was fortunate that the day was cloudy, otherwise we should have been unable to withstand the heat. On each side of the path, to our surprise, we observed a number of small patches of cultivation. When about two-thirds of the way up, we came to a place where the water rushes down the rock, in a small clear stream; it was to us a most delicious treat, after having suffered much from thirst. In these climates, where an eternal summer reigns, there can be no object so delightful to the eye as the cool stream gushing from the fountain. We threw ourselves upon the rock, which was shaded by enormous trees; drank freely of the water, and with reluctance thought of quitting the spot. Here commences the aqueduct which supplies the city, and chiefly from this fountain. It is a work which does much credit to the viceroy, by whom it was constructed, in the year 1740, as would appear from the inscription. It is received in a kind of funnel, built of brick, about five feet high, and about three in width; it passes along the apex of the ridge, which gradually declines to the plain of Rio Janeiro, where, instead of being received into pipes, it is carried into the city by an aqueduct composed of a double row of arches, intended probably for ornament, at it cannot be supposed, that, like the ancients, the constructors were igno-

rant of the principles of hydraulics. This work is, at present, in a bad state of repair, but we observed that workmen had been, for some time, engaged in enlarging and improving it. The prospect from this place is one of the most magnificent I ever beheld. The scenery around the bay is like that on the borders of some extensive lake; on the eastern side, instead of the immense mountains which enclose it on every other, the country is beautifully sloping, and, with the aid of a spy-glass, we could discover plantations of coffee, or cotton, on a much larger scale than any we had seen in the course of our walk. Towards the north-east, at a great distance, we could discern the Organ-mountains, so called from a number of singular peaks, apparently at the termination of the ridge from their unequal elevation, and resembling huge basaltic columns. The bay, or rather lake, was studded with a great variety of beautiful islands, one of them, perhaps the largest, several leagues in circumference. A number of small villages could be distinguished at intervals, and the water-prospect was enlivened by a great number of vessels of different kinds.

The fatigue and labour we had encountered, and the time we had consumed in scrambling up the mountain thus far, discouraged us from attempting to accomplish our first design. It seemed to us, in fact, that we had scarcely gained more than the foot of the mountain we had intended to scale. We approached near enough, however, to form a tolerable idea of the Parrot's Head; we could distinctly see it to be a huge flat rock, laid horizontally as a kind of cap-stone, on the top of a bare mass of granite; and from some rude resemblance, which I could not discover, it had received its name. Below it, on the same ridge, stands the sugar-loaf, whose summit appeared to be on a level with us, but could hardly have been so, as its height is estimated at 900 feet from the water's edge, though not half that height on the side where it joins the ridge. Behind us the mountain rose to a great height, and was covered with trees of a prodigious size. Having determined to return to the city, we followed the path along the side of the aqueduct, and with a much more gradual descent than that by which we had ascended. On our way we remarked a considerable space where the granitic rock, from which the soil had slipped off, was apparently in a state of decomposition; the point of a cane was thrust in, without experiencing any greater resistance than from stiff clay; this was also the case with the broad veins of spar with which the mass was penetrated. As we approach the city, the path gradually widened, and within a mile we found a spacious sloping walk, planted on each side with beautiful trees, of which we found the advantage at this

time, as the sun was beginning to send forth his rays unobstructed by friendly clouds. We were accosted repeatedly by negroes, who offered to sell us some of the beautiful insects of the country, upon which they had been taught to place a value, probably by the recent visit of the European philosophers, or by persons employed to make collections for European cabinets. We remarked a number of the lower ridges or mounds carefully cultivated in grass; but the declivity was such as to require them to be crossed in every direction in a reticulated manner, with narrow paths. We observed, in one instance, a deep vale but of small extent; enclosed on three sides by steep hills, and on the only side where it was open, occupied by a neat dwelling, a garden, and some adjoining buildings. This vale, which could not have contained more than a few acres, was all in grass, and being shaded nearly the whole day by the mountains on each side, and the trees growing on them, had the appearance of being a cool and delightful retreat. I have been thus particular in my account of this little ramble, because it has enabled me to describe many of the features which are probably common, if not to the whole, at least to a very great proportion of Brazil. It is at least a specimen of the mountainous country.

During our short stay at Rio, we neglected no opportunity of making ourselves acquainted with the manners and customs of the place, and in collecting every information, curious or useful. Scarcely any city in America has been so often spoken of by voyagers, as it has been the great stopping-place of those bound on voyages of discovery to the South Seas, as also of vessels bound to the East Indies. We preferred remaining on shipboard for various reasons; one was, that we should thus escape the annoyance of insects and vermin we should have to encounter at the wretched inns of the city. Another reason was, that on the water we enjoyed a cooler air than we could in a town, which was hemmed in by mountains. We were in fact much more comfortably situated than we could possibly be in the city, and as the boats were continually plying to the shore, we could at any time gratify our wish to go there. In the shade, the thermometer seldom rose above eighty-four degrees of fareinheit, but the temperature was rendered more supportable by the land and sea-breezes. The most disagreeable part of the day was from eight until ten or eleven, until the sea-breeze gradually freshened. In the afternoon, during at least three days in the week, the clouds gathered, and after some thunder and lightning, they descended in rain; the nights were extremely pleasant and cool. During one or two days we had a tolerably stiff breeze, so as to render it somewhat unpleasant to pass from the boats to shore;

no wind, however, can ever blow so as to endanger the safety of the vessels at anchor.*

This country is extremely healthy, except in the vicinity of particular situations. From the little attention of the police at Rio, and the stagnant waters in its immediate vicinity, it is only surprising that it has never been visited, at least very seriously, by the fevers which are so dreadful a calamity to other cities situated in similar climates. No people in the world enjoy better health than the inhabitants of the country. The residents of the city appear to be, especially in the lower classes, extremely lively, active, and cheerful; but, from the facilities of gaining a livelihood, and the frequent recurrence of holidays, the greater part of their time is spent in amusements. Few beggars are to be seen, and all, except the wretched brutalized slaves, are decently clad. The streets swarm with children: and, in the country, according to Langsdorff, they are even more prolific than in the United States; fifteen, and even twenty of a family, being not unusual. Young children enjoy excellent health, and are, in general, weaned young, and nourished with the banana, which is extremely wholesome, and well adapted for the purpose. The upper classes are said to lead a very inactive and indolent life, consulting only the gratification of their pleasures; in consequence of which, their old age is overtaken by chronic diseases, among them the *elephantiases*, or swelling of the legs, to such a degree as to bear a resemblance to those of the elephant. I saw one case of this malady, at which I was greatly shocked. The inhabitants in general are temperate in their living; but, if we may credit the accounts we hear, very depraved, as well as ignorant. This is not to be wondered at, considering the nature of their composition; all the mechanics are either negroes or mulattoes; and, indeed, almost every business which requires attention, and assiduity, is pursued by coloured people, a great proportion of whom are free. The people, in general, are sunk in the lowest state of political degradation; they know nothing of the measures of government; affairs of state are never the subject of their conversation, unless indeed with a very small number among the higher classes, who observe the greatest secresy and caution. The prejudice, with respect to complexion, did not appear to me as strong as in the United States. This may be owing to the great number of persons of colour, who own large

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* The Portuguese seventy-four parted her cable, which only proved to us that she was miserably found.

fortunes, and possess wealth and consequence. I remarked several mulatto priests, and in one instance a negro.

Among the better classes of the people, Lisbon is the model upon which their manners are formed; and it is probable, that this has not changed since the arrival of the royal family. The Portuguese are said to be the only people in Europe, who preserve that Moorish jealousy, which has been banished even from Spain. The female part of their families are shut up in the strictest manner, and never venture abroad, unless it be to church; and then, their faces wrapt up in a black mantle, which passes over the head. Men seldom introduce their most intimate friends to their wives or daughters; and, except at the theatre, they are rarely seen in public. Sometimes, indeed, they venture to sit in the evening at their windows; and, from their actions, strangers unacquainted with the customs of the country, would be apt to form unfavourable inferences. The throwing flowers at persons passing along, is known to be an innocent display of gaiety, to which custom attaches nothing improper. It is also very probable, that this frivolity is not very common among the better class of people, and that strangers, from observing these things in a few instances, of persons of a different cast, have been led to form a mistaken idea of the rest. The accounts given by Frezier and others, who consider the Brazilian women as totally devoid of that delicacy which characterizes the sex in other countries, and as continually engaged in the most shameful intrigues, cannot but be exaggerated. At the same time, it is natural to suppose, that when thus immured from society, and deprived of daily and free intercourse with the world, those very effects would be produced, against which this cruel jealousy is intented to guard. There is but one day in the year, on which they are permitted to walk freely abroad in the streets; a kind of saturnalia, as insulting to them as their imprisonment. Marriages of inclination are rarely made, they are usually bargains between the husband and the parents. There is a species of cruelty practised by the rich in the cities, that is really shocking to the mind of an American. It is not uncommon for men to compel their daughters to take the veil, merely with a view to preserve greater wealth in the family, as, without this unfeeling practice, they would be under the obligation of settling a part of their estates as a marriage-portion, or for their support.

In consequence of this state of manners, society is on a wretched footing at Rio Janeiro. Social intercourse is almost exclusively confined to foreigners. The people of the country, especially the small planters, are represented to be remarkably kind and hospitable. Several of our officers, who made excur-

sions around the shores of the bay, spoke very highly of the civility and frankness with which they were treated by the peasantry, who live very much as in the United States, scattered over the country. In a little excursion with Mr. Rodney, who was extremely anxious to see the *chirimoya*, the most exquisite fruit of South America, we landed near the cottage of a peasant in search of it, and were treated by him in the most friendly and hospitable manner. We did not succeed, the fruit being either known under a different name, or peculiar to Peru, where Ulloa speaks of it. While on this excursion, we met several German naturalists, who informed us that they were preparing to set off in a canoe, or perogue, which they showed us, to coast it along to Rio Grande.

There is but little skill displayed here in the mechanic arts. Although they have the finest wood in the world for cabinet-work, their furniture is very badly constructed, and the defect is supplied by a profusion of gilding. They excel, however, in making ornaments of gold, such as chains, crosses, &c.; but precious stones are not well set by them, and, in general, they display but little taste. As to the fine arts, they are extremely low. The king's library, of sixty thousand volumes, has been thrown open for the use of the public; but within this capital of a great empire, it will be long before there will be any thing that will deserve the name of literature. The rich native inhabitants have generally other tastes; there is nothing to call forth public discussions from the press; there is yet, in fact, no public. The art of printing, itself, which was restricted in the colonial state, is not yet sufficiently spread to satisfy the demand, small as it is. There is more printing in any one of our smallest cities than in all Brazil. A botanical garden has been established in the neighbourhood of the city, and is said to be respectable. There are but few of the usual accompaniments of European monarchy. The king has imported a company of opera-performers from Italy, at an expense that would build a frigate. Several of our officers attended the theatre, and spoke highly of their performance. There is something truly ridiculous in such importations, to a country which stands so much in need of an increase of population. A royal amusement, for which Lisbon is particularly celebrated, the bull-fights, has not been successfully introduced here. Repeated attempts were lately made in a circus erected near the country-palace, but they utterly failed, as the bulls were found good for nothing, in all probability to the great joy of the bull-fighters.

The cattle of this province are small; and the market is supplied from Rio Grande or St. Catherine's; but, after being driven several hundred miles in this hot climate, over the worst roads

in the world, they are miserably poor by the time they reach this place. The crops of coffee, or cotton, from the interior, are brought on the backs of mules, the former generally put up in raw hides. I could not learn whether the cotton-gin has been introduced, but I am inclined to think it has not. While we were here, a cargo of wheat arrived from Chili. The market for this article, or flour, is extremely uncertain, from the smallness of the quantity requisite to supply it. The great body of the people use the mandioca, not merely as a substitute, but even in preference. This root is of great importance throughout all South America, and is cultivated with care. It yields two crops a-year, and is prepared by boiling and expressing the juice, which is poisonous; the sediment which remains, after pouring off the water, is the tapioca of the shops. There is no doubt but that the use of flour will increase, and, of course, the demand from the United States, which can always supply it on better terms, and of a better quality, than La Plata or Chili, or the southern provinces of Brazil. Grapes are raised at Rio, but not for the purpose of making wine. It is only in poor lands, and very populous countries, that the vine can be cultivated extensively; the culture of cotton, tobacco, sugar, and indigo, are so much more profitable, that it is not likely that wine will be made for use or exportation. To the south, the vine flourishes much better than in this province.

The inhabitants are represented as being much devoted to the ceremonies of their religion. The Inquisition was never established here, very fortunately for the Jews, who are numerous, and whose outward conformity has never been strictly scrutinized. The kings of Portugal obtained from the pope, nearly the same grant of ecclesiastical supremacy over their American possessions, as the King of Spain over theirs. There is a primate at St. Salvador, to whom all the churches of Brazil acknowledge obedience. The chief business of the colonists of a general interest, consists in the public ceremonies of their religion, such as processions in the streets, and masses. Devotion has become rather a matter of amusement than a serious duty. At every hour of the day, rockets are let off, a singular accompaniment to religious exercises.* The clergy are said to be licentious, and even the nuns have been spoken of, as not possessing the sanctity enjoined by their vows. An occurrence

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* "The religious system, which held its empire with such happy effects so long, has now some resemblance to a machine, of which the spring, by its own internal working, has slackened at length, and wearing out."—*Macartney's Embassy.*

took place some time ago, which scandalized the faithful, perhaps, much more than acts of a more reproachful kind. Two British officers, one a lieutenant, and the other a surgeon, of a ship-of-war, prevailed on two of the nuns to elope with them: the ladies fell upon the expedient of letting themselves down from the second story window of the convent, by means of their bed-clothes. The enamorada of the lieutenant came safely to his arms, but the other had the misfortune to fall, and was so severely hurt, that her lover, though a physician, could afford her no relief, and was obliged to leave her behind. The lieutenant carried his nun on-board the ship, and was married by the chaplain.

An interesting description of the province of Rio Janeiro, is given by the author of the Corographia. The name was given to the bay in 1532, by the intrepid navigator de Sousa, in consequence of his mistaking it for a river, and the name was extended to the province.* It was not settled until about the year 1567, and after a French colony of Protestants, sent by Admiral Coligny, had been dispossessed by the governor of Bahia, or St. Salvador. Rio Janeiro did not become the capital of the province until 1663, when the colony had acquired some importance, and the value of this noble harbour was becoming better known. The province extends along the coast about sixty leagues, and is about twenty-five in width. It is divided into two parts by the Organ mountains. On the other side of these is the river Paraiba, which flows between them and the chain of Mantequera, in a valley not more than sixty miles across in its widest part. This river takes its rise in the district of St. Paul, and is navigable five or six hundred miles from its mouth. About eight leagues below the town of Lorenzo, where it has already acquired considerable volume, the whole of its waters are compressed into a channel of five fathoms wide, between two natural walls, upwards of seventy feet high, and several hundred long. From the narrowness of its valley, it receives few rivers of any magnitude, although it discharges a great body of water into the ocean. Its banks are highly cultivated; some of the most valuable sugar-plantations of Brazil are situated on them. With the exception of the district of Goytacazes, the province is extremely mountainous. In the district just mentioned, there are some lowlands, marshes, and swamps. In the mountain-districts, it is natural to expect a number of

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* A number of small rivers discharge themselves into the bay from the sides of the Organ mountains which border on the western side, but none of them navigable more than two or three miles.

cascades and water-falls; no country can be more picturesque and romantic. The fall of Tejouco, in the vicinity of the capital, is particularly described, as being worthy the attention of those who admire such objects.

The coronation, for which so much preparation had been made, was at last announced for the 6th of February. The morning was ushered in by salutes from all the forts, as well as from the ships-of-war at anchor in the harbour. As a mark of respect to the government of the country, whose hospitality we enjoyed, the commodore joined the other commanders of foreign vessels in firing a salute. All the ships were dressed in the colours of the different nations of the world, and exhibited one of the most splendid appearances I ever witnessed; but whether to be attributed to accident or design, we know not; on examining the different flags, it was discovered that ours was not among them. The commodore, on making this discovery, resolved to go no further in the demonstrations of respect for the occasion. The ceremony took place about noon, in the Grecan temple we had seen in the public square. With the nature of the ceremony I am unacquainted, as none of us were near enough to see and hear. It was followed by the shouts of the assembled multitude, and tremendous discharges of artillery, which I thought would never cease. The regular troops, four or five thousand, together with the disciplined militia about the same number, had been drawn out, and, at the close of the ceremony, fired vollies of musketry. At sun-down, the firing of cannon was renewed, first from the different forts in succession, and then from the ships-of-war; and as the sound was repeated by the echoes of the mountains, a tremendous roaring continued even for some time after the firing had ceased. It was no sooner dark than the illuminations, whose splendour eclipsed the starry vault above us, were displayed along the whole front of the city, and also from the different forts from the detached buildings on the heights, and around the harbour. All the vessels, except the Congress, which seemed to mourn the event, were also illuminated in the most curious and tasteful manner. Nothing could have a finer effect than the glittering of so many lights, and their brilliant reflection upon the water. The ingenuity displayed in the arrangement of the illuminations, was very great. By the aid of small glass lamps of various colours, a great variety of curious and beautiful figures were formed, representing triumphal arches, temples, and a number of other objects. Columns and pyramids were erected, for the purpose of enabling them to display curious festoons and other figures. Large sums were said to have been expended by individuals, who vied with each other in the taste and splendour of their illuminations; and,

in particular, the owner of a country-seat, fronting the harbour, is said to have expended twenty thousand dollars; a number of large arches were raised on high columns, so contrived as to represent a crown, its base more than a hundred feet, and beautifully proportioned, displaying near the top the arms of Portugal. The person who was thus distinguished in the display of his loyalty, we were informed, had in view a title of nobility, being only a rich plebeian.

The two succeeding days passed in the same way, until eyes and ears could no longer bear this dazzling and astounding manifestation. It was natural for us to draw a comparison between the simple and unaffected ceremony of installing the chief magistrate, chosen by a free people to guide their affairs, and all this noise and glitter, calculated to intoxicate, astound, and stupify, the human intellect. I could not but reflect how small the number, among this wretched rabble, that reasoned, justly and wisely, on the scene before them! It was not the joyous emotions of the soul, but stupifying amazement. How different is the enthusiasm of the free, from the noisy acclamation of a people, who, without these artifices, would continue in unchangeable dulness! The real enthusiasm of a freeman stands in no need of these aids.

The day after the coronation I went on-shore, in company with some gentlemen of the ship. The city, as may be supposed, was let loose; all was noise, uproar, and confusion. Seeing people going in and coming out of a long temporary building on one side of the chapel, we approached, and were informed we might enter. It was splendidly fitted up, probably for the performance of some ceremony, as the regalia were displayed on a table covered with rich purple; the arms of Portugal were also seen, and the whole was fitted up in a style of extraordinary magnificence. At the door there were four or five priests, who had fallen fast asleep, having, as I supposed, set up all the preceding night, and it was now in the afternoon.*

The palace is a long row of buildings, no way remarkable in point of architecture, but sufficient to lodge comfortably twenty or thirty families. I saw a number of ladies seated on their balconies, dressed in very splendid attire, and their heads adorned with a profusion of feathers; at first, we took them all for princesses, but afterwards supposed that some might be maids of honour. In front of the palace, there stood at least a

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* It was humourously said, that numbers of the common people gazed on the illumination with such blank amazement, *as to fall asleep with their eyes and mouths open.*

dozen coaches, beside other carriages, waiting for some thirty or forty of the royal family, who were going to the country-palace, whither the king had already gone. The coaches were splendid things, very heavy, with much gilding about them, and apparently not less than a hundred years old; from which I conjectured, that these vehicles were only used on great occasions. The dresses of the coachmen, the postillions, of whom there was one on every other mule, the footmen, and out-riders, were the most outre imaginable; their appearance carried me back a couple of centuries at least, *and led me to reflect how much importance, in monarchies, is attached to antiquities.* Kings are very slow in adopting the improvements of the age in which they live; they are almost as hard to civilize as our North American Indians. I saw a great many of the nobility running to and fro, and, from the richness of their decorations, I judged of very high orders, such as gentlemen of the bed-chamber, grooms of the stole, and royal rat-killers. I wish I could speak with some respect of these things, but for my soul I cannot; and I think it my duty to give to my countrymen a true copy of the impressions left by them on my mind. Such is the first coronation of a king in America—will it be the last?

CHAPTER II.

Departure from Rio—Provinces of St. Paul, St. Catherine, and Rio Grande—Island of Flores—Arrival at Monte Video.

HAVING no further business at this port, and the ship being supplied with every thing necessary for the prosecution of the voyage to La Plata, the commodore announced his intention to put to sea. It had previously been intended to proceed to St. Catherine's, for the purpose of procuring a tender to ascend the Plata. The great draft of water of the Congress, (upwards of twenty-two feet,) rendered it impossible to carry her up to Buenos Ayres. Besides, the season of *pamperos*, or south-west winds, was approaching, and from the known dangers and difficulties of the navigation, the commodore felt a reluctance to run a greater risk than was absolutely unavoidable. Partly, however, in compliance with the wishes of the commissioners, and partly in consequence of an understanding with Captain Hicky of the Blossom, who was also bound for the river, he changed his original intention, and resolved to go directly to Monte Video, and there procure the necessary vessel. The Blossom drawing much less water, and her commander having

some acquaintance with the river, it was thought that being in company with him would be an advantage of some importance.

From the 9th of February, the day of our departure, until the 15th, nothing material occurred in our voyage; we had generally a fair wind, but were considerably detained by the slow sailing of the Blossom. The Congress was obliged to be stripped of most of her canvass, so as to keep company with the British ship, which was probably one of the dullest sailors in their navy. We now experienced, in latitude thirty-three degrees thirty-five minutes, a head-wind, which continued from the same point until the 19th. We had also to contend with a current, which, along this coast, always sets with the wind. During these four days we made about 100 miles by beating, and in latitude 33 deg. 39 min. south, stood into nine fathoms water, hard sand, the water very thick and yellow. We could at this time just discern from deck, the low broken sand-hills along this part of the coast. The commodore observed, that he would not think it advisable to stand in nearer than twelve or thirteen fathoms soundings, as every cast of the lead varies several fathoms; he ventured to act differently, only from the circumstance of there being another vessel sounding a-head.

We made Cape St. Mary's on the 19th, and were abreast of the Island of Lobos at twelve o'clock of that night. The next morning, at eleven o'clock, we were compelled to come to anchor in nineteen fathoms below this island, having been drifted at least twenty miles during a calm which ensued, and which, on account of the great draught of the Congress, operated more powerfully on her than on the Blossom; this vessel was now out of sight. Having run down 12 or 1300 miles of the Brazilian coast, I shall avail myself of the opportunity to give the reader a few sketches of the provinces along which we passed.

Next to the province of Rio Janeiro, on the coast, comes that of St. Paul, which stretches along it about 400 miles, and is about 500 in depth. It is bounded to the west by the great river Parana, which separates it from the Spanish province of Paraguay. On the south it is bounded by the Iguazu, and a line drawn from this river to the small river St. Francisco, and down to its mouth. It is one of the most fertile and delightful provinces of South America. The great range of mountains which here runs close along the coast, on the western side, is a vast inclined plain, down which some of the largest branches of the Parana flow into that immense river. The western slope is so gentle as scarcely to be perceptible, and although not level it can hardly be considered hilly or mountainous. On the eastern side, the ascent is very steep; the road from Santos to St. Paul ascends a mountain 6,000 feet high, and is perhaps the

most considerable work of this description in Brazil. From this point, however, in following the mountains to the southward, they gradually retire from the coast, leaving a broken country between them and the sea, through which the Paraiba of the south takes its course. Between these mountains and the coast, an extraordinary number of cataracts and cascades are formed, by the waters which are precipitated down the eastern side. The navigation of the rivers, on the western side, is also impeded by a great number of falls and rapids; but the intervals between the portages are navigated by large perogues, such as are used on our western waters, made out of the single trunks of trees, of which there is an abundance on their banks, of a prodigious size. The river Tiete, which rises near the city of St. Paul, is generally used as the channel of communication to the mines of Matto Grosso. After descending to the Parana, they continue down its stream to the mouth of the Pardo, which enters from the west, and up this river to the foot of a chain of mountains, which they cross to the river Taquari, which flows into the river Paraguay, above the Spanish possessions. The inhabitants of St. Paul took advantage of this route at an early period, for the purpose of committing depredations on the numerous Indian tribes settled on that river.

The climate is probably the most pleasant in Brazil. Though nearer the equator than the provinces of La Plata, the disadvantage is more than counterbalanced by its height; the commencement of the slope is 6,000 feet above the sea, and 2,000 feet above the inferior limit for the cultivation of European grain. The thermometer descends as low as forty, though it rarely rises above eighty. In the evenings, it is sometimes so cold as to render necessary a change of clothes, and to make use of *brazeros.** In the vicinity of the capital, the tropical fruits are not in as great perfection as they are on the sea-coast, but in lieu of these, all the European fruits, apples, grapes, peaches, are uncommonly fine. This delightful country may be considered as still in a state of wilderness, and inhabited by a number of savage tribes towards the Parana, who are continually at war with the Portuguese, and retain the same ferocity as when the country was first settled. They must finally disappear before the march of civilization.

The principal port is Santos, said to be safe and commodious, but being merely the entrepôt to St. Paul, as Laguira is to Caraccas, the town is inconsiderable. The inhabitants of St.

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* A kind of pan filled with embers, used by Spaniards and Portuguese, instead of fire-places and chimnies.

Paul are spoken of as the most hospitable and polished in Brazil, which may seem somewhat extraordinary, considering their origin and their character half a century ago. The history of those people occupies one of the most conspicuous pages in American annals; their character has been variously represented, and generally little to their advantage. Charlevoix, and all the Jesuits, represent them in the most unfavourable light, and they have been spoken of by most writers as barbarians, possessing enough of civilization to render them formidable, as well as mischievous. They have been also represented as forming a kind of military republic, like that of early Rome, composed of outcasts and adventurers from all countries, under a nominal subjection to the Portuguese, in virtue of which, they paid a small tribute of gold and diamonds. A Portuguese writer has undertaken to vindicate their character from these imputations. Mawe, who is among the few Englishmen who have visited their capital, speaks of them in the highest terms, and seems indignant at the calumnies which have been circulated respecting them. He places them above all the people he saw in Brazil, for their highly-polished manners, and manly frankness of character, traits by which they are every where distinguished; but he does not reflect, that a century, or even half a century, might produce a very material change in their character. The accounts given of these people, as well as of their enemies the Jesuits, by Southy, is certainly the most fair and satisfactory.

The next province to St. Paul is that of Rio Grande. It is about 500 miles in length, and 300 in depth, according to the treaty of 1778, which excludes the Banda Oriental, but which is claimed in Portuguese books of geography. The Uruguay has its sources in the province to the west of St. Catherine's, and flows several hundred miles through it before entering the Banda Oriental. It is an inclined plain, like the province of St. Paul, but more level; it has a considerable ridge of mountains, which separates the waters of the Rio Negro, the main branch of the Uruguay, from the streams which fall into the lake dos Patos. The climate is mild, but during winter a good deal exposed to the south-west winds. The greater part of the country to the southward, bordering on the Banda Oriental, consists of extensive grassy plains, and is almost exclusively devoted to pasturage. Agriculture is comparatively but little attended to, although the soil is extremely well adapted to grain of every kind.

The island of St. Catherine, in the northern part of this district, is a place of considerable note. The harbour is one of the best along the coast. The town contains about ten thousand inhabitants, and is beautifully situated. The surrounding

country is very fine, and in a better state of cultivation and improvement than is usual in Brazil. From the abundant supply of wood, water, and stores of every kind, it is a very common stopping place. Few places offer greater advantages for ship-building. The country and climate are so delightful, that many persons come here from other provinces, in order to regain their health; and gentlemen of fortune sometimes choose it as an agreeable residence. Formerly there was a very important whale-fishery here; but of late years the whales have very much diminished in numbers along this coast. Commodore Porter, who touched at this place in his cruise, speaks of it in the following manner:—"The houses are generally neatly built, and the country at the back of the town in a state of considerable improvement. But nothing can exceed the beauty of the great bay to the north, formed by the island of St. Catherine's and the continent; there is every variety to give beauty to the scene; handsome villages and houses built around; shores which gradually ascend in mountains, covered to their summits with trees which remain in constant verdure; a climate always temperate and healthy; small islands scattered here and there, equally covered with verdure; the soil extremely productive; all combine to render it in appearance the most delightful country in the world."

We had at length reached the yawning estuary of La Plata, whose width, estimated from the Cape St. Mary's to Cape St. Antonio on the southern side, is one hundred and fifty miles. It would perhaps be more proper to give this great opening the name of bay or gulf. Its waters, though not fresh, are much discoloured, but not much affected by the tides above Buenos Ayres. Except the isle of Lobos, which can hardly be considered in its channel, there are no islands but that of Goriti, which forms the harbour of Maldonado, and the isle of Flores about fifty miles above. There are, however, a considerable number of islands above Buenos Ayres, where the river properly begins; at the mouth of the Uruguay there is the island of Martin Garcia, and at the entrance of the Parana there are a great many islands of various sizes. Rio La Plata here loses its name; it is in fact, properly speaking, but a bay or gulf, into which the Uruguay and Parana discharge themselves. It was originally called the *river of Solis*, from the name of its first discoverer; but was changed by Cabot, who defeated a party of Indians on its borders, and among whom he found some silver ornaments, from which he was induced to believe, that there were mines of this metal in the vicinity. The entrance of this river was formerly considered extremely dangerous and difficult, but since it has been frequented by the English, it has become

much better known, and the dangers have in consequence diminished as far as an acquaintance with the situation and nautical skill can diminish them. But there are still serious dangers to be encountered, and which are beyond the power of man to obviate. The principal, perhaps, is the south-west wind, which blows during the winter months, May, June, July, and August, with dreadful violence, while the harbours on its shores afford but a very imperfect security. On the north side, the shore is rocky and dangerous; on the south it is flat, and the water extremely shoal; the channel is therefore on the north side, between what is called the English bank and the island of Flores, about ten miles in width; the largest vessels may pass with little danger unless the wind be very violent. Between Monte Video and Buenos Ayres the navigation is still more difficult on account of what is called Ortiz banks, which render the channel narrow and intricate. These banks consist of hard sand, and it is almost as dangerous for vessels to strike upon them as to strike upon a rock; but the channel is generally of soft mud, in which a vessel may sink several inches without experiencing any injury.

The afternoon of the 20th the anchor was weighed, and the Congress proceeded up the river, but came to anchor about ten o'clock at night, being apprehensive of approaching too near the island of Flores on the one hand, and the English bank on the other. We made sail at day-light, but the wind slackening, and a strong current setting downwards, we again anchored within a few miles of Flores. On the main-land from Maldonado to this place, we were continually in sight of a range of high hills, in places rising to considerable peaks, but not deserving the name of mountains. With our spy-glasses we could discover a vast number of seals moving about on the island, or lying upon the naked rocks, by which it is surrounded. As it was now a perfect calm, and the weather delightful, a number of us resolved to make an attack upon the island, and possess ourselves of a few of the skins of its inhabitants, not as warlike trophies, but for the purpose of making caps, saddle housings, or stuffing them for museums. Our approach to shore was attended with some difficulty, on account of the surf, which never ceases to dash upon the rocks. The roaring of the sea was emulated by the noise of the seals, of which we now discovered astonishing numbers. The hoarse roaring of the males, and the bleating of the females and younger seals, bore resemblance to the mingled concert of domestic cattle, cows, calves, and the accompaniment of bleating sheep. Besides thousands upon the shore, there were still greater numbers in the water, some as far out as thirty or forty yards. They were in continual motion, their

heads appearing and disappearing, while they incessantly kept up a dreadful noise. As soon as we landed, the seals exerted themselves as fast as they could to get into the water; and considering that they have nothing but a pair of fins a little below the breast, and a long unwieldy body and tail to drag after them, they made very considerable speed. Some of our sailors got between them and the water with clubs, which they had provided, and knocked down a number, a slight blow on the end of the nose being sufficient for this purpose. In those places where water was standing in the hollows of the rock, there were great numbers of young seals huddled together, resembling young whelps, though much larger. The sailors, who had been laying about them with indiscriminate fury, assailed these poor creatures, who seemed in a most piteous manner to implore for mercy. Seeing the harmless and inoffensive nature of this race, we were seized with compassion, hastened to put a stop to the carnage, and resolved to select only a few of those that we thought suited to our purposes. The smell was so offensive, that we were compelled in a short time to return to our boats.

These are of the species called the *ursine* seal. The males are called lions, from the resemblance of the head and mane to that animal, as well as from their hoarse noise. They are often seen with several of their favourite females around them, basking on the rock, but as soon as discovered, they roll themselves into the water. Some of their habits are singular. Each lion, like a grand sultan, has forty or fifty females. They live in distinct families of several hundred. Each family occupies a particular part of the island, upon which none of the others are suffered to encroach; bloody battles sometimes ensue between different families, which frequently involve the whole tribe. A combat sometimes takes place between two males; the one who is vanquished, is abandoned by all his wives, who join the conqueror. The female is delicately formed, with a long tapering neck, and beautiful silvery skin, which glisten on coming out of the water. The old ones, although very uneasy for the safety of their young, will not venture out of the water to their assistance. I observed, in the fissures of the rock, thousands of a small fish about a foot in length, swimming among the young seals, probably attracted by them, and fed upon. The skins of this kind are not of much value; but those of the fur kind on the island of Lobos, fifty miles below, are much esteemed. The island is about a mile and a half long; the sea, when much agitated, dashes over it. We supposed there might be about twenty families on the island, of two hundred each. A lion, killed by the commodore, measured ten feet six inches from the

nose to the end of the tail, was six feet four inches in girth, and probably weighed at least one thousand pounds.

The calm continued until the afternoon of the next day, when a breeze springing up, the anchor was weighed, and we proceeded up the river. It was not long before we discovered the hill above the town, which gives its name to the place. We next discovered the town at a distance, and the cathedral, the most conspicuous object in it. The frigate came to anchor in four fathoms water, soft mud, the fort on the top of the mount, bearing, by compass, north-west; the cathedral north-east by north, Point Brava, east by north, distant from land a league or upwards.

We could discern a number of vessels lying in the harbour, but chiefly of a small size, excepting a Portuguese frigate, an Indiaman, (which had lately been released by the government of Buenos Ayres) and some light vessels of war. We observed the patriot flag on one or two small sloops. The trade of this place being almost annihilated, induced us to believe, that the greater part of the vessels we saw belonged to the Portuguese invading force—the business of war having in this town completely taken place of the peaceful pursuits of commerce.

Looking at the town from a distance, it seems to stand upon a projecting point, or promontory; and a point running out from the base of the hill before-mentioned, forms with the first a spacious basin, but too shoal to be considered a good harbour; and moreover, not affording complete protection, from all the winds that sweep across this vast country of plains. The town is compactly built, exhibits no mean appearance, and might contain fifteen or twenty thousand inhabitants in the days of its prosperity. I was not a little disappointed in finding such a place in the midst of a vast region almost uninhabited, or at least not more populous than the immense track which lies west of St. Louis, on the Mississippi. The adjacent country looks naked and desolate; a few horses and horned cattle, feeding on the extensive grassy plains, which stretch out in every direction, are the only objects to be seen. The surface of the country appeared, however, to be pleasingly varied, but, with the exception of the mount before-mentioned, no where rising into hills. We could discern, with our glasses, the vestiges of a number of fine seats and gardens beyond the town, as well as along the bank below it. The hedges of prickly pear, or cactus, are plainly visible. In fact, the whole country around appears to have been laid waste by the ravages of war. The shore, or rather bank (for one is apt to forget that this is a river) is not high or steep, but rock-bound, and the landing bad almost every where.

The next morning the commodore ordered a boat to be manned, and a lieutenant to proceed to the city, and in compliance with the usual etiquette, to wait on the chief person in command, to state the object of our visit, and to request permission to obtain such supplies as the ship might require. Seeing Mr. Bland about to take advantage of this opportunity, I determined to accompany him. We had to pass round a long rocky point, which makes out from the tongue of land on which the town is built. The harbour is capacious, but very shoal around it; as the bottom is extremely soft, vessels are often eight or ten inches in the mud. On arriving at the stairs, or quay, constructed with the dingy granite, of which all the rocks we have seen on this river were composed, we found among the crowd attracted by curiosity, several Englishmen, and a person of the name of White, who informed us he was an American, and made a tender of his services. Lieutenant Clack inquired for the American consul, but was informed that he resided at Buenos Ayres; at the same time suggested the propriety of first waiting on General Lecor, the commanding officer, with whom he professed to be intimately acquainted. He offered his services to conduct us; the lieutenant thanked him, observing that this was his business on-shore, and that he would accept his offer.

We accordingly proceeded to the quarters of the Portuguese general, who occupies one of the largest and best houses in the city. We entered a spacious court or varanda, with galleries all around it, through a guard of black troops, with sleek and greasy looks, and dressed in showy uniform. In these countries the blacks are preferred as guards and centinels, about the persons of officers of distinction. After going through several apartments, passing centinels and officers on duty, exhibiting to us all the pomp and parade of the establishment of a great military chief, we entered an apartment where we were politely invited to sit down. We had scarcely time to recover from the reflections produced by this, to us, unusual scene, when the general himself made his appearance, with which we were much struck. He is a remarkably fine figure, tall and erect, with a native unaffected dignity of manners. His age is above fifty-five, his complexion much too fair for a Portuguese; indeed, we afterwards learned that he is of Flemish descent. The character of this officer does not contradict the favourable impression which his appearance is calculated to make. His reputation is that of a brave and honourable soldier, and a polite and humane man. From all accounts, however, he is not exclusively indebted for these good qualities for his elevation from a low rank in life. Mr. Bland introduced himself through

White, who acted as interpreter, and after some conversation, in which he stated the motives of the visit, he accepted a general invitation to dine the next day, the general at the same time in the most obliging manner tendering his services. Arrangements having been made on the subject of the salute, we took our leave. Mr. White next conducted us to an inn in the great square or plaza, fronting the cabildo.

There is something extremely painful in the contemplation of scenes of recent and rapid decay. The sufferers in the havoc and desolation are brought near to us, and we cannot but sympathise in their misfortunes. Ancient ruins are associated with beings, who, in the course of nature and time, would long since have passed away at any rate, but we unavoidably share in the miseries of our cotemporaries, where we are surrounded by their sad memorials. At every step I found something to awaken these reflections. Traces of the most rapid decline of this lately flourishing and populous town, every where presented themselves. The houses, for the greater part, were tumbling down or unoccupied, whole streets were uninhabited excepting as barracks for the soldiery. In the more frequented streets, few were seen but soldiers, or perhaps a solitary female dressed in black, stealing along to some chapel to count her beads. There seemed to be little or no business doing any where, not even at the pulperias or shops. The town, in fact, looked as if it had experienced the visitation of the plague. During the latter part of our walk, it being the commencement of the siesta, (about one o'clock) the silence in the city was in some measure to be attributed to this circumstance. We observed a number of the lower classes of people, lying across the footways flat on their backs, in the shady side of the houses, with their poncho or rug spread under them; we were obliged to pass round, being unwilling to step over them, from the same kind of apprehension we should feel from a fierce mastiff or bull-dog. Happening to peep into a meat-shop, I observed a kind of Indian lying on his poncho, on the earthern floor, in the midst of myriads of flies, who covered his bare legs, face, and hands, without causing him the slightest uneasiness. These people of whom I have been speaking, appeared to have a considerable mixture of Indian race, judging from their complexion and their lank black hair, which is almost as coarse as the mane of a horse.

The town still retains every proof of having once been flourishing. The streets are laid off at right angles, and are much more spacious than those of Rio, as well as less filthy, although little or no attention is paid to them; the buildings are also, in general, erected in much better taste. The streets are

paved, but the footways narrow and indifferent. Monte Video may be considered, comparatively, a new town; for within the last century, Spain has laid the foundation of much fewer colonies or cities, than during the former period of her dominion in America. At the same time, such cities as have been built, are much more elegant and convenient. The rapid growth of this place is to be ascribed to the circumstance of its possessing a much better harbour than Buenos Ayres, if the latter place can be said to have any harbour at all. The harbour of Monte Video is, in fact, the only one on the river which deserves the name. This city came to be the emporium of what is called the Banda Oriental, a vast track of country, lying between the river Uruguay on the west, the Portuguese dominions on the north, the ocean on the east, and the river La Plata on the south, and containing about the same number of square miles as the states of Mississippi and Alabama. Its position on the Plata is not unlike that of the countries just mentioned, between the Tennessee, the Mississippi, and the gulf of Mexico. The principal exports of this city and province consisted of hides, salted meat, tallow, &c. to a very considerable amount.

In July, 1806, when Buenos Ayres was taken by General Beresford and Sir Home Popham, Monte Video was merely blockaded, these officers having determined to proceed at once against the capital, under a mistaken idea, that, if once in possession of it, the rest of the country would willingly throw off the Spanish yoke, and acknowledge obedience to the government of Great Britain. But, in the month of May, of the year following, General Achmuty, who commanded the van-guard of the second British expedition against this country, after some resistance, took possession of Monte Video. During this time, it experienced a momentary flush of prosperity, from the increased demand for its produce, and the immense quantities of British goods thrown in, and which the owners were compelled to sacrifice. This was soon after succeeded by a series of reverses, with little or no intermission until the present time. The British, under Whitlock, having been defeated at Buenos Ayres, the troops of that city laid siege to Monte Video, and compelled the captors to evacuate it. In the troubles which afterwards ensued, these two cities were soon found engaged in opposite interests. The people of Buenos Ayres having deposed the Spanish viceroy Sobremonte, on account of his incapacity, elected Liniers in his stead; but at Monte Video, the European Spaniards, who were more numerous in proportion, combining with the Spanish naval officers, prevailed over the native Americans, who, although the majority, were by no means so well directed. A junta was formed, attached to the Spanish interests,

determined to follow the varying temporary governments of Spain, and therefore, in opposition to that which had been set up by Buenos Ayres. The year after, the British had been expelled from this country, Cisneros was sent out as viceroy from Spain, Liniers was superseded, and peace between the two cities for a short time restored. But when this viceroy was deposed by the people of Buenos Ayres, in 1810, the Spanish interest was once more successful in Monte Video, after an unavailing effort of the Creoles to follow the example of the capital. Open hostilities now ensued. The government of Buenos Ayres having excited the people of the Banda Oriental to revolt, laid siege to this city, but which they were compelled to abandon and again resume, accordingly as they were successful or otherwise, in the struggle with the Spaniards in the upper provinces, until the close of the year 1814, when Buenos Ayres finally succeeded in capturing the city. During all this time, the intercourse between it and the country was almost entirely suspended, and its trade of course declined. The effects of a protracted siege, on its prosperity, may be easily imagined. The matter was still worse, when Buenos Ayres came to get possession of the city, as Artigas, with his followers, had previously deserted the cause, and was in arms against his countrymen. A few months afterwards, the inhabitants of Monte Video having established a government, set up a press, opened colleges and schools, the town was evacuated by the troops of Buenos Ayres, who had employment enough in the upper provinces. The place soon after fell under the sway of this barbarian, who continued from that time in open hostility to Buenos Ayres, contrary to the wishes of the intelligent and respectable part of the community, which he is enabled to disregard, in consequence of his having at his command the singular kind of force composed of the wild herdsmen, who are so much attached to him as their leader. The Portuguese, taking advantage of the defection of Artigas, took possession of Monte Video, under the pretext that their own safety required it. They allege, that Artigas had committed hostilities on the adjoining provinces of Brazil, and that the state of anarchy which he had occasioned, held out a dangerous example to the herdsmen of their provinces, whose habits and propensities are similar to those of the herdsmen of the Banda Oriental. The marching of their divisions, amounting in the whole to ten thousand men, has proved destructive to the settlements or villages of the country; and the occupation of this city by General Lecor, with the principal division, consisting of five thousand men, which has since been reinforced, may be considered as giving it the finishing blow. Within eight years, the population has been reduccd at least

two-thirds, many of the principal inhabitants have removed, property to an immense amount in the delightful suburbs, which contained a greater population than the town, has been destroyed, and the value of what remains reduced to a mere trifle. It is, in fact, nothing but a garrison, with a few starved inhabitants, who are vexed and harassed by the military. I am told, that notwithstanding this misery, there is a theatre here, and that the evenings are spent in balls and dances, perhaps for want of other employments; the outward actions are not always the certain index of the heart. When we consider the stagnation of business, the depreciation of property, and the deficiency of supplies, we may easily conjecture what must be the condition of the people. There is little doubt, that had this place remained attached to the government of Buenos Ayres, the Portuguese would not have molested it; but the revolt of Artigas and his disorganizing system, furnished too fair an opportunity for making themselves masters of a territory they had coveted for more than a century and an half.

On our return to the hotel, we found Mr. Graham, who had come on shore, and it was agreed to remain all night. General Carrera proposed to us a ride early the next morning, and politely offered to procure us horses; the proposal was gladly acceded to. Accordingly, the next morning, we sallied forth at one of the gates, to take a view of the country outside of the walls, and within the Portuguese lines, which extend around about three miles. It would not be considered safe to go beyond them, lest we should fall in with the *Gauchos*, the name by which the people of Artigas are designated, and who might take a fancy to our clothes. The general observed, that with respect to himself, he would have nothing to fear, as he was known to them; but he was not certain that he could afford protection to those who were with him. I do not suppose they are quite as ferocious as they are generally represented to be; but I presume they are very little better than the Missouri Indians. We soon found ourselves in the midst of ruins, whose aspect was much more melancholy than those of the city itself. Nearly the whole extent which I have mentioned, was once covered with delightful dwellings, and contiguous gardens, in the highest cultivation; it is now a scene of desolation. The ground scarcely exhibits traces of the spots where they stood, or of the gardens, excepting here and there fragments of the hedges of the prickly pear, with which they had formerly been enclosed. The fruit-trees, and those planted for ornament, had been cut down for fuel, or perhaps through wantonness. Over the surface of this extensive and fertile plain, which a few

years ago contained as great a population as the city itself, there are, at present, not more than a dozen families, upon whom soldiers are billetted, and a few uninhabited dilapidated buildings. This is the result of the unhappy sieges which have reduced the population of this city and suburbs, from upward of thirty thousand to little more than seven. From this, some idea may be formed of the havoc which has been made. We found, however, in riding along the basin above the town, a fine garden, which had escaped the common wreck. We alighted, and were hospitably received by the owner, who led us through his grounds, and showed us his fruit-trees and vegetables. It is from this spot that Lecor's table is supplied. The fruits, peaches, grapes, figs, oranges, apples, &c. are exceedingly fine. In this enchanting climate, (with the exception of a few of the tropical fruits,) all the fruits that are most esteemed ripen in the open air, in great perfection. In fact, I believe that the climate is surpassed by none in the world, not even by that of Italy or the south of France. It experiences neither the sultry heat of summer, nor the chilling blast of winter. The air so pure, that putrefaction can scarcely be said to take place; we observed the remains of several dead animals, which seemed to have dried up, instead of going to decay. Flesh wounds are said to heal with difficulty, from the same cause.

After leaving this place we continued our ride in a different direction; the air cool and refreshing. The ground gradually rises on retiring from the town. I was reminded of the magnificent scite of our capital, the city of Washington. But nothing occasioned so much surprise as the amazing fertility of the soil. It is a light, rich, black mould, superior even to our best river bottoms; and this is its general character over the whole country. Cotton, the sugar-cane, Indian corn, and grain of every kind, would be equally congenial to this soil and climate, where pasturage has hitherto been almost the exclusive employment, and which renders it impossible for a country to be populous. This province alone is capable of containing a population as great as France, and yet the number of its inhabitants, at no time, exceeded sixty or seventy thousand. We remarked, as we rode along, growing about on the plains or commons, great quantities of a species of thistle, which is cut down, dried, and made into faggots, for fuel, in consequence of the scarcity of wood. Dried animals, horses, sheep, &c. are made use of for the same purpose, particularly in burning bricks. It is this which has given rise to the story of their throwing animals alive into the flames, for the purpose of keeping up their fires. Many of the extravagant stories related by travellers have had no better origin. I remarked several very

beautiful shade trees, scattered here and there over the plain. I was unable to account for these having escaped the general ravage, but was informed that this tree, which is called the *umbu*, is so very soft and porous, and contains so much sap, or more properly water, that it will not burn even after having been long cut. A gentleman told me that on first coming to this country, he was surprised one day at seeing a woman trying to split up the skull of an ox for fuel, while a log of wood was lying alongside of her, which she did not seem to think of applying to this purpose; but this log was of the incombustible umbu. Amongst the curious things that attracted my attention, was the remains of an enclosure formed entirely of dry ox-heads, piled on each other; from which we may form some idea of the vast number of cattle slaughtered in this neighbourhood, when the commerce of the city was flourishing.

On arriving at the high ground near the lines, the prospect was truly delightful; the city and harbour, the shipping, the frigate Congress, with her glorious flag, distinguishable at a greater distance than that of any other nation, the mount, the expanse of this vast river, at this place at least seventy miles wide, spread out below me; from this point the ground sloping to the interior, presented an enchanting landscape; the surface of the country waving like the Attakapas or Opalousas, with here and there some rising grounds, and some blue hills at a great distance. Along a beautiful winding stream, which flowed through a valley before us, there were more trees and shrubbery than I had expected to have seen; but this terrestrial paradise, was silent and waste—man had not fixed here his "cheerful abode."

Wild animals, such as are common to this country, the deer, the wolf, the ostrich, and even the tiger, abound every where in these plains. The tiger of this country is a powerful and ferocious animal, little inferior in strength to that of Africa. It is not many years since three of them swam across the basin and entered the town of Monte Video, to the great terror of its inhabitants, several of whom were killed, or mangled, before the monsters were destroyed.

We were told that the interior of the country, for hundreds of miles, possessed the same beauty of surface, and fertility of soil; and, although generally well supplied with fine streams, a small proportion of it can be said to be hilly or mountainous; and that, in general, there is an abundance of wood along the water-courses. On examining the map of Azara, it will appear to be abundantly supplied with fine rivers; it is bounded in its whole extent eight or nine hundred miles on the east by the river Uruguay, which may bear a comparison even with

the Rhine or Danube of Europe. This river has also a number of important navigable tributaries, the principal of which are the Ubicuiy, and the Rio Negro, together with several other rivers which discharge themselves either into the Atlantic or La Plata.

As we approached the town, we met a number of country people, chiefly women and boys, with a few men, who appeared as if returning from market. I was a little surprised at this, as I understood that all intercourse had been prohibited by Artigas; but General Carrera informed us, that this does not extend beyond the prohibition of the supply of horned cattle, and that some of those we saw, were in all likelihood of the besieging force, but that such was the situation of things, it was winked at. The hatred to the Portuguese pervades every class of natives, the commoner of the plains, as well as the tenant of the humble cottage, and appears to increase in the rising generation. The present inhabitants can never be good Portuguese subjects.

About noon we had a visit from General Lecor and suite. His officers generally spoke good English, probably from having served with them against the French. This was intended as a visit of ceremony. At three o'clock, we proceeded to his quarters, according to invitation. Commodore Sinclair had at first declined, but afterwards, on a pressing invitation being sent by the general, he was induced to come. Mr. Rodney declined coming on-shore at all; under all circumstances, not considering it proper for him to do so, until his return from Buenos Ayres. We found a great number of persons assembled, all of them Portuguese officers of the land and naval service, excepting a gentleman in a citizen's dress, who, we were informed, was an agent from Buenos Ayres, on some special business; he was a keen, intelligent looking man, and his plain suit of black formed a singular contrast with the splendid uniforms, and crosses, and medals of the Portuguese officers. The entertainment was the most sumptuous. It was, indeed, a banquet, composed of every thing in the way of fish, flesh, and fowl, that can well be imagined, and was succeeded by all the variety of fruits which this market and that of Buenos Ayres could afford. Our ears were at the same time regaled with the sweetest music from the general's band. Several of these officers, particularly the general's aids, were remarkably handsome men; I happened to be seated near one of them, and had a good deal of conversation with him. He expressed a high admiration of our political institutions, and national character, part of which I of course considered only complimentary. He spoke of the patriots at Buenos Ayres, as a factious set, incapa-

ble of establishing any sober government; their leaders all corrupt, and desirous only of acquiring some little self-importance; the people ignorant, and at the mercy of ambitious demagogues: he contrasted their character with the virtues and intelligence of the people of the United States. He spoke of Artigas, as an atrocious savage, and stated a recent instance of cruel treatment to his prisoners; that his people were, like all other savages, entirely insensible to the feelings of humanity. He spoke in a manner not very complimentary to the English, and held out the idea, that some useless attempts had lately been made on their part, to induce the king of Portugal to return to Lisbon.

The Buenos Ayrean agent, in the course of the entertainment, sought a conversation with me, and pronounced a hasty, but fervid, eulogy on his government, and then on the character of his countrymen. His eagerness to communicate his thoughts, seemed to arise from apprehensions that unfavourable impressions would be made on our minds. He spoke of General Carrera, at the same time requesting to be forgiven for the liberty he was taking, and observed that he had perceived him very intimate with us, and had understood he was highly esteemed in the United States, but he hoped we would not permit our minds to be swayed by his statements, as he entertained a deadly enmity to the government of Buenos Ayres, and even to the people of that place; that he was actuated by disappointed ambition, and, for the sake of revenge, would go any length. "If he be the real patriot," said he, "why does he live under the protection of this government? Can he not go to the United States, or any where else? No, he is waiting his opportunity until the liberties of Chili shall be won from Spain, through the aid of our arms, in order to kindle up the same civil broils and factions, by which that country has been once lost already. In the meantime, he loses no opportunity of harassing us, as far as lies in his power. We attribute to him much of the abuse that has appeared against our leading men in your newspapers, and which has occasioned deep regret to the people of Buenos Ayres. The idea has been held out, that the Chilians were conquered by their brethren of Buenos Ayres, an idea the most absurd that can be imagined; but it is necessary that he should hold out this pretence, for if his country accepts our assistance, what right has he to object? "No," said he, "his anger has no other foundation than disappointed ambition. But," said he, "you will judge for yourselves. Does his country require his services? Can any one deny the fact, that she has done better without him than with him? Let him, at least, remain quiet as a pri-

vate citizen, until the liberties of his country are settled on a solid basis, and not be continually engaged as he is, in trying to bring us into disrepute with our friends abroad." My business was that of a listener—I could only answer, that I thought his observations worthy of being attended to.

During our short stay at Monte Video, I became acquainted with several English gentlemen, from whom I collected a good deal of information respecting the state of the country. With a young Irish merchant, who possessed all that generosity of heart, and genuine hospitality which characterizes his countrymen, I was highly pleased. I could not divest my mind of the idea that he was a countryman of my own, although he informed me that he had never been in the United States. I was not aware of our entertaining this feeling towards the Irish when abroad, but it no doubt arises from the circumstance of our considering them as a distinct people from the English, and oppressed by them, as well as from a consciousness that the hearts of Irishmen have generally been with us in our times of trial. Their accounts were, in most respects, very much at variance with some that I had heard from General Carrera, and his friend White; and knowing that so much depends upon the situations, motives, and interests of men, I thought well to give them due weight and consideration, as they were not so obviously disqualified from giving unbiassed testimony, as the two persons just mentioned. It would certainly be improper, on these occasions, to adopt those rules of evidence established by the experience of judicial tribunals, but they are not entirely to be despised. Having, from earliest infancy, in a life replete with incident, been often cast among strangers, the habit of circumspection has grown upon me. To distrust, or doubt, is one thing, to decide, after mature and cautious examination, is another.

CHAPTER III.

Passage from Monte Video to Buenos Ayres—Description of Buenos Ayres—Interview with the Supreme Director.

CONSIDERABLE difficulties were experienced in procuring a vessel at Monte Video, to carry the mission to its place of destination. Several small vessels were examined, and found unsuited to the purpose; the idea of chartering one at this place was therefore given up, and it was perceived too late, that an error had been committed, in not stopping for this purpose at St. Catherine's. Some trade is carried on with Buenos Ayres,

but of very little moment; two or three small sloops suffice for the purpose. Both American and English ships, coming to this river, at present, are exposed to serious inconvenience from the desertion of their crews to join the privateers, which is as injurious to commerce, as it is demoralizing to the seamen. We were fortunate in meeting a young man who was going up in a small brig to Buenos Ayres, and who cheerfully consented to take us as passengers, otherwise, it is probable, we should have been detained here for some time.

On the evening of the 26th of February, we got all our baggage on-board, and embarked. Our Argo would have caused uneasiness even to Charon and his ghosts; she was certainly much better suited for crossing the river Styx than the river La Plata. She was an hermaphrodite brig, called the *Malacabada*, or unfinished; the hand of time, however, had nearly completed what had been left undone by the shipbuilder. The deck had not been swabbed for a year. There had been putrid grain in the hold, which had bred insects and vermin, and sent forth a most disagreeable effluvia; the cabin, which was very small, contained several women, who were going to Buenos Ayres. The sails and rigging corresponded with the rest; by way of ballast, she had several puncheons of water in her hold, which kept a constant dashing and splashing, to our great annoyance. Thus crowded together on deck, with scarcely room to turn round in this crazy vessel, no one would have suspected that the *Malacabada* carried a mission from the great republic of the north, to the rising republic of the south.

There were several passengers on-board, besides ourselves, inhabitants of Buenos Ayres. As we expected not to remain out more than one night, we made up our minds to be reconciled to our miserable accommodations. We wrapped ourselves in our great coats, for the evening was extremely cool, and slept as well as we could. Next morning we came in sight of the southern shore, at the distance of some miles; it appeared to be a mere line along the surface of the water, and some solitary trees at a distance, looked as if they grew in this element. Towards the middle of the day, we suffered considerably from the heat, being without any shelter.

During the evening I had an opportunity, for the first time, of seeing and tasting the herb of Paraguay, or *matte*, as prepared by these people. It is called *matte*, from the name of the vessel; usually a small gourd, by the poorer sort, or silver, and even wood (nearly of the same shape) cased with copper for the rich. About a handful of the bruised leaves of the *yerba*, intermingled with small twigs, for it is not prepared

with the cleanliness and care of the East India tea, is put into three half-gills of warm water; the matte, itself, holding about a pint. As it is used, the water is occasionally renewed, and in taking it, they use a tube a few inches in length, with a perforated bulb at the end, as a strainer. Sugar is sometimes added to it. The taste is an agreeable bitter, and bears some resemblance to the Chinese tea. It does not form a part of a social meal, nor is any thing eaten with it; it is taken just as inclination prompts, at all times of the day, though more generally in the morning and evening, or after having undergone some bodily fatigue. The decoction possesses, according to them, exhilirating and restorative qualities. As there were not mattes enough for each, I saw them, without repugnance, using the same after each other; but I afterwards observed, that this was not the case in the more refined portions of society. The quantities of this herb consumed in the viceroyalty of La Plata, and exported to Chili and Peru, was, at one time, very great; but the interruption of their trade, occasioned by the revolution, and the restrictive system adopted by the government of Paraguay, has occasioned it to diminish. Its use is said to have been borrowed from the Indians, with whom it had been known time immemorial. It is a large shrub, which grows wild throughout Paraguay, and on the east side of the Parana. Azara gives a description of the manner in which it is prepared for exportation. It is stated never to have been cultivated, and has not been accurately described by botanists.

About day-break we found ourselves in the outer roads, about six miles from shore, where vessels of a larger size are obliged to moor, as the water is too shoal for them to approach nearer. A light fog rising soon after, prevented us from having a clear view of the city until after we had cast anchor among the smaller vessels, about half-a-mile from land. Phœbus, at last, lifted the curtain, and our impatient eyes beheld *the celebrated seat of liberty and independence of the south.* How different the thoughts which rushed across my mind from those which suggested themselves on my approach to Rio Janeiro! There is no king here,—no hereditary nobility,—*the power of the state is acknowledged to be in the people, and in no other.* If this be their guiding star, it must, in the end, bring them safely through, provided this be their motto. I care not for the present defects in the state of society, or the errors of government; the cause is a glorious one, and heaven will smile upon it. The public functionaries have been made, and can be unmade by them: of how many countries of the world can this be said? I own myself one of those who prefer the

whirlwinds of democracy, to the stagnant pool of despotism. Never shall I again behold a scene more sublime; a people not only struggling against oppressive power, but against the errors and prejudices of centuries, and for the happiness of myriads yet unborn; a people who have followed our example, who admire our institutions, and who *may* settle down in rational and free government; for I view even *the possibility of such a consummation as something great.* Yes, they are destined to break the chains of slavery, ignorance, and superstition in the south, as we have in the north.

I shall endeavour to give the reader a rude sketch of the city, as it appeared to us, a task much easier than to convey the moral impressions left on the mind. It stretches along a high bank about two miles; its domes and steeples, and heavy masses of building, give it an imposing, but somewhat gloomy aspect. Immense piles of dingy, brown-coloured brick, with little variety, heavy and dull, shewed that it did not take its rise under the patronage of liberty. Compared to Philadelphia, or New York, it is a vast mass of bricks, piled up without taste, elegance, or variety. The houses, in some places, appear to ascend in stages; one story rising from the bottom of the bank, the second story leaving part of it as a terrace, and, in like manner, where the building rose to three stories, a second terrace was left, besides the roof of the house, which is invariably flat. The whole has the appearance of a vast fortification. The streets, at regular intervals, open at right angles with the river, and their ascent is steep. Between the bank and the water's edge there is a space of considerable width, rarely covered by the tides; a number of people were seen here presenting some appearance of the bustle of trade, while the border of the river, for more than a mile, was occupied by washerwomen, and the green sward, covered with clothes, spread out in the sun. Between the sward and the bank, the earth is bare, but some poplar trees are planted with seats underneath, and this appears to be a kind of mall, or promenade. There projects out into the water, a long narrow pier, or wharf, composed of a mass of stone and earth, and which is said to have cost the king of Spain half a million of dollars, the stone used in its construction having been brought from the island of Martin Garcia, at the mouth of the Uruguay; excepting at high tides, it by no means answers the purpose for which it was intended. To the left of this, looking towards the city, at the distance of a few hundred yards, stands the fort, or castle, its walls extending down to the water's edge, and mounted with cannon. But, as it is not likely that an enemy would attempt a landing in front of the city, and as no shipping can

approach within gun-shot, it can be of little importance in a military point of view; it is, in fact, without a garrison, and the buildings within have been occupied for public offices, and the residence of the viceroys under the old regime, and of the directors since the revolution; while the canon are used only in firing salutes. Centinels, however, are seen pacing the walls, and the blue and white flag waving over their heads. About a mile below this, the high bank suddenly tends inward, leaving a vast level plain, which seems to be partly in cultivation, and partly in pasture grounds, inclosed in the manner of the country, and through which a stream as large as the Christiana, at Wilmington, enters the river, affording a good harbour for the smaller craft, as also at its mouth, where there is a kind of circular basin. In looking up the river to our right, the city terminates in detached seats and gardens.

Our boat having been prepared, I embarked with Lieutenant Clack, Mr. Breeze, the purser, Dr. Baldwin, and the owner of the *Malacabada*. It was necessary to make some arrangements at the custom-house with respect to our baggage, to prevent unpleasant detention: Mr. Rodney and Commodore Sinclair declined going on-shore. As it was low-water, it was so shallow, that our boat, though small, could not approach, we were therefore compelled to get into a cart, according to custom, and to be thus ferried to shore, at least a hundred yards. These carts would appear in our country of a most awkward and clumsy structure. They are drawn by two horses; the wheels are of an enormous size, and the quantity of wood employed in the structure of the vehicle, one might suppose, would be a load of itself. I am told that, within a few years past, an English carriage, or waggon-maker, has established himself in the city, and has already made a fortune by constructing carts and waggons on a more modern plan; that his price, at first, for a common two-horse waggon, was 500 dollars, but since they have become in more general use, it has fallen one half; but it will be a considerable time before the present clumsy, and inconvenient machines, will be superseded. It will happen here, as in every thing else, that the progress of improvement will be slow.

On our landing we found very few persons on the wharf, attracted, as might have been expected, by curiosity. The fact is, we had taken them by surprise; and, as I afterwards learned, it was a source of some chagrin, that they had not had an opportunity of making some display on the occasion. It was natural to expect, that personages to whom the people attached so much importance, should make their appearance with something more of parade. But I hope this disappointment was

more than compensated, by giving them a practical example of the simplicity and humility of true republicanism, which places little or no importance in that outward show or ceremony, which is more properly a cloak for emptiness and conceit, than any part of native worth and dignity.

Our friend was taken by the hand by a young officer, in a neat uniform, and his manner gave me a very favourable idea of the relation in this place between the citizen and the soldier. These two young men were probably educated together, and were playmates in the same town; they had only embraced different occupations, one entering the counting-house, and the other the army, but without placing themselves in different ranks or orders of society. There was something of militia in the manner of the officer, which I cannot describe, which strongly associated itself with recollections of my own country, and very different from what I had witnessed in Brazil, where the military constitute an order as distinct as if of a different race of men. There was no difficulty in making the arrangements before-mentioned. While the boat returned to the vessel, I went in company with the gentleman before-mentioned, in quest of lodgings. There are several tolerable public-houses, chiefly kept by foreigners. We succeeded in obtaining comfortable quarters, at about the same price as in the cities of the United States.

I had no sooner been comfortably settled in my lodgings, than I felt impatient to take a stroll through the town. The streets are straight and regular, like those of Monte Video; a few of them are paved, but hollow in the middle. The houses are pretty generally two stories high, with flat roofs, and, for the most part, plastered on the outside; which, without doubt, at first, improved their appearance, but, by time and neglect, they have become somewhat shabby. There are no elegant rows of buildings as in Philadelphia, or New York, but many are spacious, and all take up much more ground than with us. The reason of this is, that they have large open courts, or varandas, both in front and rear, which are called *patios*. These patios are not like our yards, enclosed by a wall or railing; their dwellings, for the most part, properly compose three connected buildings, forming as many sides of a square; the wall of the adjoining house making up the fourth. In the centre of the front building there is a gate-way, and the rooms on either hand, as we enter, are, in general, occupied as places of business, or merchants' counting rooms; the rear building is usually the dining-room, while that on the left, or the right, (as it may happen,) is the sitting-room, or parlour. The

patio is usually paved with brick, and sometimes with marble, and is a cool and delightful place.

Grape-vines are planted round the walls, and, at this season, are loaded with their fruit. The houses have as little wood as possible about them; both the first and second floor having brick pavements; fire-engines are, therefore, unknown, together with that uneasiness from this angry element, when once master, so much felt in our cities. There are no chimnies, but those of kitchens. At all the windows there is a light, iron grating, which projects about one foot; probably a remnant of Spanish jealousy. The compactness of the town, the flatness of the roofs, the incombustibility of the houses, the open court-yards, which resemble the area of forts, and the iron gratings, compose a complete fortification, and I do not know a worse situation in which an enemy could be, than in one of those streets. It is not surprising that a city so well fortified, should have so effectually resisted the army of twelve thousand men, under General Whitlock. The only mode by which it could be assailed, would be by first obtaining a complete command of the country around it, and of the river in front. This would require a greater effort than Spain can make, even if she were to abandon all her other colonies, and unite, for the special purpose, all the forces she is able to spare out of her Spanish dominions.

But little attention is paid to the cleanlinesss of the streets; in one of the front streets, where there was no pavement, I observed several deep mud holes; into these, dead cats and dogs are sometimes thrown, from too much indolence to carry them out of the way. The side-walks are very narrow, and in bad repair; this is better than at Rio Janeiro, where there are none at all. I observed, however, as I went along, a number of convicts, as I took them to be, engaged in mending the bad places already mentioned. In these particulars I was very much reminded of New Orleans; in fact, in many other points, I observed a striking resemblance between the two cities. I can say but little for the police, when compared to our towns; but this place manifests a still greater superiority over Rio Janeiro; and many important improvements, that have been introduced, within a few years past, were pointed out to me. It would be well, however, to bestow some trouble in cleaning those streets that are paved, and in paving the rest; as well as in freeing the fronts of their houses from the quantity of dust collected, wherever it can find a resting-place.

But it is time to speak of the inhabitants of the city, and of the people who frequent it. And here, whether illusion or

reality, I had not walked far before I felt myself in a land of freedom. There was an independence, an ingenuousness in the carriage, and an expression in the countenances of those I met, which reminded me of my own country; an air of freedom breathed about them, which I shall not attempt to describe. I felt the force of that beautiful thought of Moore, in his Lalla Rookh:—

"———————— who with heart and eyes
Could walk where liberty has been, nor see
The shining foot-prints of her deity;
Nor feel those god-like breathings in the air,
Which mutely told her spirit had been there?"

I saw nothing but the plainness and simplicity of republicanism; in the streets, there were none but plain citizens, and citizen soldiers; some of the latter, perhaps, shewing a little of the coxcomb, and others exhibiting rather a *militia appearance*, not the less agreeable to me on that account. In fact, I could almost have fancied myself in one of our own towns, judging by the dress and appearance of the people whom I met. Nothing can be more different than the population of this place, from that of Rio. I saw no one bearing the insignia of nobility, except an old crazy man, followed by a train of roguish boys. There were no palanquins, or rattling equipages; in these matters, there was much less luxury and splendour than with us. The females, instead of being immured by jealousy, are permitted to walk abroad and breathe the common air. The supreme director has no grooms, gentlemen of the bed-chamber, nor any of the train which appertains to royalty; nor has his wife any maids of honour; his household is more plain than that of most of the private gentlemen of fortune in our own country; it is true, when he rides out to his country-seat, thirty miles off, he is accompanied by half-a-dozen horsemen, perhaps a necessary precaution, considering the times, and which may be dispensed with on the return of peace; or, perhaps, a remnant of anti-republican barbarity, which will be purged away by the sun of a more enlightened age; indeed, I am informed, that the present director lives in a style of much greater simplicity than any of his prédecessors.

If I were to stop here, however, I should not give a faithful picture of the appearance to a stranger, of the population of Buenos Ayres; the mixture of negroes and mulattoes, is by no means remarkable, not as great, perhaps, as in Baltimore, and the proportion of the military, such as we might have seen in one of our towns, during the last war, with the exception of the black troops, which, in this city, constitute a principal part

of the regular force. But there are other figures which enter into the picture, and give a different cast to the whole from any thing I have seen. The modern European and North American civilization, and I will add South American, which differs but little from the others, was set off by a strange mixture of antiquity and aboriginal rudeness. Buenos Ayres may very justly be compared to the bust of a very beautiful female, placed upon a pedestal of rude unshapen stone. Great numbers of gauchos, and other country people, are seen in the streets, and always on horseback; and, as there prevails a universal passion for riding, the number of horses is very great. The European mode of caparisoning is occasionally seen, but most usually, the bridle and saddle would be regarded as curiosities by us. The stirrups of the gouchos are so small, as to admit little more than the big toe of the rider, who makes a very grotesque figure with his long flowing poncho. This is a kind of striped cotton, or woollen rug, of the manufacture of the country, fine or coarse, according to the purse of the wearer, with nothing but a slit in the middle, through which the head is thrust and hangs down perfectly loose, resembling somewhat a waggoner's frock. In rain, it answers the purposes of a big coat, and in hot weather, is placed on the saddle. It is also used for sleeping on, as the Indians use their blanket. It is possible, after all, that this singularity of dress may not make any great difference in the man. There is nothing remarkable in the complexion or features, excepting where there happens to be a little dash of the Indian. There is more of indolence, and *vacancy*, (if I may use the word,) in the expression in their countenances, and an uncouth wildness of their appearance; but it must be remembered, that we also of the north are reproached by Europeans for our carelessness of time, and our lazy habits. These *gauchos*, I generally observed, clustered about the *pulperias*, or grog-shops, of which there are great numbers in the city and suburbs, they frequently drink and carouse on horseback, while the horses of those that are dismounted, continue to stand still without being fastened, as they are all taught to do, and champing the bit. These carousing groups would afford excellent subjects for Flemish painters. The horses, though not of a large size, are all finely formed; I do not recollect a single instance in which I did not remark good limbs, and well-formed head and neck. The *gauchos* are often bare-footed and bare-legged; or, instead of boots, make use of the skin of the hind legs of the horse; the joint answering the purpose of a heel, and furnishing a very cheap kind of suwarrow.

Besides the clumsy carts, of which I have before spoken,

and the class of people that I have just described, my attention was attracted by the appearance of the great ox waggons, used in the trade with the interior. They are of an enormous size, and are the most clumsy contrivances imaginable. Five or six of these in a line, are sometimes seen groaning along the street, the wheels making a noise like the gates on their hinges of Milton's Pandemonium. The waggoners use no tar to prevent them from making this harsh noise, as they say it is music to the oxen, which are, in general, uncommonly large, and the finest that I ever saw. Their yokes, in proportion, are as ponderous as the waggon, and in drawing, nothing is used but the raw hide strongly twisted. In fact, this is the only kind of gears, or traces, used for all descriptions of carriages. To each of these enormous waggons there are, generally, at least three drivers. One sits in the waggon, with a long rod or goad in his hand, and above his head, suspended in slings, there is a bamboo or cane, at least thirty feet in length, as supple as a fishing-rod, so that it can, occasionally, be used to quicken the pace of the foremost pair of oxen, which are fastened to the first by a long trace of twisted hide. The interval between the different pairs of oxen, is rendered necessary by the difficulty of crossing small rivers, whose bottoms are bad, and which are subject to sudden rises. Another driver takes his seat on the yoke, between the heads of the second pair of oxen, being also armed with a goad, with its point turned backwards; there was something extremely ludicrous to me, in the appearance of this last; his bare, brawny legs dangling in the air, and nothing but a folded sheep skin to sit upon; yet content, or rather inanity, was pictured in his countenance. Besides these two, there is a third on horseback, armed in the same manner. If such an exhibition were to pass through one of our streets, with its slow and solemn movement and musical groanings, I doubt not, but it would attract as much attention as half-a-dozen elephants.

As this is the fruit season, a number of people were crying peaches up and down the street, but on horseback, with large panniers, made of the raw hides of oxen, on each side. Milk, in large tin cannisters, was cried about in the same way, and as they passed in a tolerable trot, I expected every moment to hear the cry changed to that of butter. As I moved along towards the great square, a part of which is the principal market-place, (immediately in front of the castle, or government-house,) there appeared to be a great throng of people. I met some priests and friars, but by no means as many as I expected, and nothing like the number I met at Rio Janeiro. There are, perhaps, fewer monasteries and convents in Buenos Ayres

than in any Spanish town in the world. But, as things are very much judged of by comparison, it is highly probable, that if I had not touched at the place before-mentioned, *and had come directly here from one of our cities*, I should have considered the number of regular and secular clergy very considerable. It must be constantly kept in view, that, in order to judge of these people fairly, we are to compare them with Spanish or Portuguese, and *look at what they have been*, not to the state of things in the United States. The dress of the seculars when in their canonicals, is like that of the episcopal clergy, except that they wear a broad quaker-hat. The monks and friars are easily distinguished by their habit of coarse cloth or flannel, girt round the waist, and with a cowl or hood behind. In speaking of the Catholic clergy, we, who know little about them, are very much in the habit of confounding these two classes. They are very different, both in character and appearance. The seculars are necessarily men of education, and living and mingling in society, participate in the feelings of the people, and cannot avoid taking part in temporal affairs. The monks, on the contrary, are *gregarious*, not dispersed through the society, but shut up in their convents and monasteries, and not permitted to mingle in the affairs of the world. From the first, it is natural to expect liberality and intelligence, as well as from other christian clergy, but, in the latter, it would not be surprising to find superstition and ignorance.

On approaching the market-place, as it was still early in the day, I found that the crowd had not entirely dispersed. There is no market-house or stalls, except in the meat-market, situated on one corner of the square which fronts on the plaza. Every thing offered for sale was spread on the ground. I can say but little in favour of the appearance of cleanliness; dirt and filth appeared to have a prescriptive right here. One who had never seen any other than a Philadelphia market, can form no idea of the condition of this place. To make amends, it is admirably supplied with all the necessaries and delicacies that an abundant and fruitful country can afford. Beef, mutton, fowls, game, &c., with a variety of excellent fish, were here in great plenty, and for prices, which, in our markets, would be considered very low. Beef, particularly, is exceedingly cheap, and of a superior quality; it is the universal dish, chiefly roasted. Absolute want is scarcely known in this country, any more than with us. As I passed by the hucksters stalls, they presented a much richer display than any I had been accustomed to see. Here, apples, grapes, oranges, pomegranates, peaches, figs, pine-apples, water-melons, were mingled in fair profusion.

The plaza, or great square, is at least twice as large as the state-house-yard in Philadelphia, and is unequally divided into two parts, by an edifice long and low, which serves as a kind of bazaar, or place of shops, with a corridor on each side the whole length, which is used as a shelter for the market-people. At these shops or stores, which are pretty well supplied, they can make their purchases without the trouble of wandering through the town. The space between this and the fort is that appropriated for the market. The opposite side, which is much larger, is a *kind of place d'armes*; and fronting the building just spoken of, and which intercepts the view of the fort, there is a very fine edifice, called the cabildo, or town-house, somewhat resembling that of New Orleans, but much larger. In this building the courts hold their sessions, and the offices are kept. The city council, or cabildo, also sits here, and business of all kinds, relating to the police, is here transacted. Near the centre of the square, a neat pyramid has been erected, commemorative of the revolution, with four emblematic figures, one at each corner, representing justice, science, liberty, and America, the whole enclosed with a light railing.

The shops, or stores, as far as I observed, in my perambulation through the city, are all on a very small scale, and make no shew as in our towns. There are but few signs, and those belong chiefly to foreigners; such as *sastre, botero, sapatero, de Londres;* taylor, boot-maker, shoe-maker, from London. The greater part of the trades which are now flourishing here, particularly hatters, blacksmiths, and many others that I might enumerate, have been established since the revolution; the journeymen mechanics are chiefly half Indians and mulattoes. The wages of an American or English journeyman are higher than in any part of the world: 1,500 or 2,000 dollars per annum, I am told, are very commonly given. There are other squares through the town, besides the one already mentioned, in which markets are held.

There are also large yards, or corrals, which belong to the city, and are hired to individuals, for the purpose of confining droves of cattle. I observed several large wood-yards, in which there were immense piles of peach limbs, tied into bundles or faggots, together with timber and firewood brought from Paraguay, or the Brazils.

In receding from the river towards the country, the streets wear a much more mean appearance, being very dirty, and apparently much neglected, while the houses seldom exceed one story in height, and are built of brick scarcely half burnt. In walking from the front streets, we seemed to be transferred, at

once, to some half civilized village, 1,000 miles in the interior. Every where, in the skirts of the town, much of the Indian race is visible, generally a very poor, harmless, and indolent people. They commonly speak nothing but Spanish, and, but for their complexion, and inanimate countenances, they could not be distinguished from the lower orders of the Spanish Americans, such as the labourers, carters, countrymen, and gauchos. It would be worth inquiring into the cause, why none of the aborigines are found, in this manner, near any of our towns, which possess the population and opulence of Buenos Ayres. It surely does not arise from their having been treated with more kindness here, or more pains having been taken in their civilization, or, because the nations in the vicinity are more numerous? I am inclined to attribute it to two causes; the first is, that the early settlers on this river were soldiers, and having few Spanish women with them, they were compelled, like the Romans, to procure wives from their neighbours, which laid the groundwork for a more friendly intercourse between them and the natives, and this continued even after the flourishing state of the colony enticed emigrants of both sexes from Old Spain. Or, it may be, that these Indians are of a less wild and untameable character than those of North America. But the principal reason is, the number of Indians that have found their way hither from the missions of Paraguay, since the expulsion of the Jesuits, and also from the provinces of Peru, where they were a civilized people on the first discovery and conquest. In forming our ideas of the aborigines of South America, only by what we know of those of the north, we may be led astray. Against Indians and Spaniards, we have strong prejudices in the United States; the man of sense should endeavour to rise above them.

On my way back to the hotel, I met a party of twenty or thirty pampas Indians on horseback, who had come to town, for the purpose of bartering skins for such things as they wanted. They excited no curiosity as they rode along the street, although tricked out with their nosebobs and earbobs, and, except the poncho, which they wore, entirely naked. They were rather taller, and more square-shouldered than ours, but their physiognomy was very nearly the same.

At this season of the year, many of the principal inhabitants are still in the country, to which they retire, for a few months, until the approach of cool weather. This is probably the most pleasant season of the year, but the climate is seldom otherwise than pleasant; the range of the thermometer rarely exceeds fifty degrees, and hardly ever rises within ten degrees as high as with us. In the vast plains or pampas, which stretch from

the margin of the river, almost to the foot of the Cordilleras, where there is no shade or shelter, or next to none, the heat of the sun is said to be very oppressive; travellers, therefore, lie by in the middle of the day. The habit of the *siesta*, which prevails so universally in this country, is perhaps an excuse for this loss of time. It was now the hour here for this indulgence, and the change from the busy populous city, of a sudden, to the silence and loneliness which takes place on these occasions, was peculiarly striking. The inhabitants generally dine between one and two o'clock, and soon after retire to take their evening's nap, which usually lasts until five or six, at which hour the devotees go to vespers, or evening-prayers, in the churches. I saw, however, a greater number of persons in the streets than I had expected, and I am told that, of late years, the habit has been sensibly decreasing. It was formerly a saying, that, during the siesta, none but dogs and foreigners were to be seen in the street. This is no longer true, the increase of business and active employments having a good deal broken in upon a custom, which could only owe its origin to that indolence commonly proceeding from a want of incentive to action. Such an incentive must certainly have been furnished by the animated scenes of their revolution, and by the numerous and important changes which it has produced. In very hot climates, as in the West Indies, and the greater part of South America, there may be some reason for thus reposing in the middle of the day; the intense heat of the sun rendering it unpleasant and dangerous, to labour in the open fields, and the morning and evening affording them sufficient time to do all their work. Providence, perhaps, in equalizing the benefits of nature, has decreed, that people here should be circumscribed in their pursuits by the heat of the day, as in other countries by the coldness of the winter. Without such dispensations, the advantages would be too great on the side of the warm climates. The climate of Buenos Ayres, however, is not such as to render it necessary to avoid the sun in the heat of the day. It resembles very much that to the south of the Mississippi, in our Louisiana district of Texas, although not quite so warm in summer, nor yet so cold in winter. The south-west winds of the winter are exceedingly piercing, although there is very seldom sufficient cold to incrust the water with ice, but the frequent rains which fall at this season renders it damp and chilly, as at New Orleans. The climate of the southern latitudes, although they do not accord with the same degree, north of the equator, in the eastern hemisphere, are yet several degrees warmer than in North America. This place is situated in about 35 deg. south, and ought, therefore,

to correspond with the climate of Norfolk. But less cold is felt here than in Charlestown or New Orleans. This is an important consideration, with respect to the territory of the republic to the southward of this place. Molina, the historian of Chili, has taken pains to disprove, in his work, to which I would refer the reader, the prevalent idea of the excessive cold of Patagonia. I think it highly probable, that as high south as latitude 50 deg. the climate is at least as mild as that of Philadelphia. On some other occasion, when I come to speak of the geography of this vast country, I will say more on this subject.

The day after we arrived was Sunday, and the streets were crowded with people. I was very frequently reminded of my former place of residence, New Orleans, with the exception that the proportion of coloured people is comparatively very small, but amongst the lower classes I remarked a great many of Indian extraction; this was discovered in the complexion and features. The inhabitants generally are a shade browner than those of North America; but I saw a great number with good complexions. They are a handsome people. They have nothing in their appearance and character of that dark, jealous, and revengeful disposition, we have been in the habit of attributing to Spaniards. The men dress pretty much as we do, but the women are fond of wearing black when they go abroad. The fashion of dress, in both sexes, I am informed, has undergone great improvement, since their free intercourse with strangers. The old Spaniards, of whom there are considerable numbers, are easily distinguished by their darker complexion, the studied shabbiness of their dress, and the morose and surly expression of countenance: this arises from their being treated as a sort of Jews, by those whom they were wont to consider as greatly their inferiors. They are also distinguished by not mounting the blue and white cockade, which is universally worn by the citizens of the republic. The same number of Chinese could scarcely form a class more distinct from the rest of the community. There can hardly be a greater affront offered to an *Americano del Sud*, than to call him a Spaniard. A young fellow told me, in a jesting way, that the monks, friars, and Spaniards, were generally old, and would soon die off, which he said was a great consolation.

I went round to several of the churches, of which there are ten or fifteen throughout the city. I shall not trouble the reader with a description of them, as by referring to books he can learn their names, and the years in which they were founded. All I shall say is, that those I saw were immense masses of buildings, particularly the cathedral, which of itself covers almost a whole square. The internal decorations are generally

rich and splendid, and the pomp of catholic worship is displayed here, pretty much as it is in other parts of the world. My attention was more attracted by the crowds of beautiful women, going and coming to the churches, and the graceful elegance of their carriage. They walk more elegantly than any women I ever saw. They are seen usually in family-groups, but, according to the custom of the country, seldom attended by gentlemen. There are usually a few beggars about the church-doors, all blind or decrepid with age. I am informed there are two convents in the city, but I did not go to see them, as I was told the nuns were all old and ugly.

A very animated and martial scene was presented to me, by the exercising of the regular troops, and civic militia. The black regiments made an uncommonly fine appearance, and seemed to be in a very high state of discipline. The civic militia is said to be fully as well trained as the regulars. I saw several very fine bands of music. A battalion of slaves, consisting of five or six hundred men, was also mustered, and then marched to one of the churches. With all these things going on, the city exhibited one of the most animating scenes I had ever witnessed. They are certainly a more enthusiastic, and perhaps warlike people, than we are; if they possessed, with these qualities, by way of ballast, something of our *steady habits*, and general stock of information, I think they would nearly equal us.

In the afternoon, in company with Dr. Baldwin, and a gentleman with whom I became acquainted, I resolved, if possible, to breathe the air outside of the city; and being pedestrians, we resolved to take it on foot, though horses might have been had, either to *buy* or *hire*, for the trip; the difference in price for these two modes of obtaining them, does not quite bear the same proportion as with us. It would have cost us, probably, one dollar and an half, or two dollars, for the hiring, while a very good hackney might be bought for ten; but then it would cost, at the livery-stable, three or four dollars a week to keep him.

We directed our course up the river; the doctor was very anxious to reach the open fields, for the purpose of pursuing his botanical researches, and I was equally desirous of reaching some high ground, whence I might have a better view of the city and its environs. We passed through a large square, the greater part of which is occupied by an extensive circus, open at the top, called the *toro*, or place for bull-fighting. It is capable of containing a vast concourse of people. But I was glad to hear that this barbarous amusement is fast going into disrepute, and that few of the respectable people now attend it.

It is not surprising, that it should have been a place of fashionable resort, when it was attended by the viceroy and his court, with much show and parade. Under the revolutionary governments it has been discountenanced, and should any member of the government attend it, he mingles in the crowd of citizens. But there may be a still better reason; these are amongst the contrivances of monarchy, to withdraw the attention of its subjects from things that really concern them. The minds of these people are now turned upon much more important objects than bull-fights. But the custom still prevails, and it would be imprudent at once to abolish it; in this, as in other matters, the reformer should go to work with a cautious hand. As Lent is now nearly over, I am informed that the circus and the theatre are to open next week. I will here mention another instance of reform, which does honour to the present director. This is in abolishing the silly custom which prevailed here, as well as at Rio, of throwing wax-balls filled with water, at people in the street, during three days at the end or commencement of the carnival, I do not recollect which. He effected it by a simple appeal, through the medium of the newspapers, to their good sense, and their regard for those manners which distinguish a polite from a barbarous people.

We continued our walk about two miles beyond the town, but appeared to be no nearer the open fields, being completely enclosed on all sides, by what are here called quintas, which are large gardens of several acres, with abundance of fruit-trees and vegetables. Many of these are owned by the inhabitants of the city, but they chiefly belong to people who make a living by attending the market. There are very few of those neat dwellings which are seen about our cities; the houses here are chiefly small, and built of very indifferent brick. The grape-vine, however, with which they are fond of adorning their houses, had to me a very pleasing appearance, particularly when loaded with their exquisite fruit. We stepped into one, where our friend was acquainted, and were received with much politeness and civility by the inhabitants; their countenances seeming to brighten up, when told we were Americans of the north. They treated us with fine peaches, pears, grapes, and melons. Instead of pales, or fences, hedges of the prickly pear are invariably used, which are planted on the mound of earth, thrown up in digging the ditch on the outside. The soil is like that of our best river bottoms, and its particles are so fine, that the road at this season of the year is intolerably dusty.

On our way back to town, our friend induced us to stop at a spacious mansion, where there resided a gentleman whom he

knew, named La Rocca. This gentleman's establishment forms a prominent exception to what I have just been describing; his grounds are surrounded by a brick-wall; his buildings, gardens, &c. all upon a more extensive scale. We entered through a lofty gate-way, into a spacious court. The servant informed us that his master, with several other gentlemen, was on the terrace at the top of the house, and at our request conducted us up. I was glad of the occasion, as I was told that there was a very fine view from this place. We were treated by La Rocca with great attention, and we found him a man of liberal and enlightened mind. He is a native of old Spain, but has been naturalized, and has taken an active part in the revolution. He pointed out to us a beautiful grove of olives, which he had planted after the Spanish system, which forbade the cultivation of this invaluable plant, had been abolished. The other gentlemen who were with him were his neighbours, natives of the country, and were sensible and well-informed. I learned from them that our arrival had excited great interest throughout the city, and that many conjectures as to our object were afloat. They seemed all to agree, that nothing of an unfriendly nature could be expected from our government, and seemed to be very much hurt at the unfavourable impressions which had been made in the United States as to the state of things in this country, by publications in the newspapers. They said that they had no right to expect any friendship or sympathy from us, if their institutions were really so vile as had been represented. They said, it was natural to expect, that as their enemies were not able to subdue them, they would endeavour to ruin their character; and for this purpose, they would seize and magnify every real, or alleged error, or misconduct. La Rocca here drew an animated comparison between the state of things in Spain and in this country, highly favourable, as may be supposed, to the latter. He told me it was their intention to establish a government as nearly resembling that of the United States as circumstances would permit. He inquired, with a considerable earnestness, as to the truth of a report of our government having endeavoured to obtain a cession of territory from the king of Naples, and laid great stress on the circumstance of our having no colonies, and, from the nature of our constitution, not being permitted to have any. He said it was impossible for them to repose full confidence in the friendship of nations holding colonies, and they were sorry to see us deviating in the slightest degree from what they understood was with us a fundamental maxim. If we could have colonies in Italy, we might have them in America, in Africa, and in Asia.

As the house stood upon ground somewhat more elevated than the city, and not more than three hundred yards from the river, there was a very extensive horizon in every direction. In a clear day, Colonia, on the opposite side of the river, is visible from this place; but at present, as the atmosphere was somewhat obscured, and a stiff north-easter blowing, nothing was presented to the eye but a vast expanse of water, the Mosqueto fleet of sloops, and small coasting vessels, tossing about below us, and those of a larger kind anchored in the outer roads; the whole having a very dreary appearance. On the land side, we seemed to look over the city, which covers an extent of ground nearly as great as Philadelphia, with quintas up and down the river, whose variety of fruit-trees, with here and there a Lombardy poplar intermixed, exhibited a very lively and pleasing appearance; while to the westward, at the distance of a few miles, there seems to be a boundless waste of pampas, or grassy plains, without a tree or shrub. The whole population of the country is not greater than that of the city. In fact, the real limits of the province are exceedingly circumscribed. About forty miles north of this, is a large village called Luxan, at which the road branches off for Cordova and Mendoza, there commences a line of *presidios*, extending southerly across the Salado to the river Colorada, which marks the southern boundary of the province. This line of posts was originally established for the purpose of protecting the settlements from the incursions of the wild pampas Indians, who were then a most dangerous and formidable enemy. But of late years, they have ceased to be dreaded, and their incursions have only for their object, stealing cattle and horses. While I am upon this subject, I will say something as to the manner in which the population is distributed in this country, intending to enlarge on the subject on some future occasion.

Under the viceroyalty, a line of 250 miles north and south, and 100 miles east and west, would have included the whole population of the province; but this was distributed in a manner singularly unequal; some parts being as thickly inhabited as the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, and the rest as wild as the plains of the Missouri. Since the revolution, the frontier has been considerably extended, and this province, as well as the others of the union, which have been exempt from the immediate devastations of war, have had a considerable increase of inhabitants. The city of Buenos Ayres, and its vicinity, probably ten miles square, contains about 70,000 inhabitants; the villages of Luxan, Ensenada, Las Couchas, and a few others, with their circumscribed vicinages, may contain from 2 to 5,000, and as the whole population does not exceed 105,000,

all the remainder of the province is left for the rest, not exceeding 15 or 20,000 in number. Immediately around the towns and villages, are the quintas of which I have spoken, chiefly appropriated to the raising of vegetables and fruits; next come the larger farms, or chacras, where wheat, Indian corn, and barley, are raised as with us; but according to a very different, and as far as I can learn, a very inferior system of agriculture. These have not the same aversion to neighbourhood, as the old Virginia planter, who declared, he never would wish to live so near as to hear the barking of his neighbours' dogs. The mode of cultivating the earth, of enclosing their grounds, and their rural economy in general, would furnish many curious topics; but these I must waive for the present. The soil is, undoubtedly, the finest in the world; but they labour under great disadvantages from a deficiency of water, as the streams, which are not numerous, are apt to go dry in summer. They are, therefore, compelled to make reservoirs for the reception of rain-water, when at too great a distance from the river. Their crops are, notwithstanding, superior to ours, and are rarely known to fail. In the uncultivated waste which spreads around these specks of civilization, are what are called the *estancias*, or grazing farms, which constitute the principal fortunes of the rich, and are of various dimensions, some as large as our townships, or even counties. They have from 20 to 60,000 head of cattle on one of these estates. Before the revolution, they were valued at about one dollar for every head of cattle; for the land was scarcely taken into the account. Since that period, the value of both has more than doubled. From this, it will be seen, that a grazing farm in the Opeloussa, of 10 or 15,000 head, valued at ten dollars each, is worth as much as an *estancia* here of 50,000. The care of these is consigned to those half-horse half-men, of whom I have already spoken, under the appellation of *gauchos*.

Since the revolution there has been a much greater disposition to settle in the country than formerly; arising, no doubt, from the enhanced price of the produce of the soil; and also from the greater safety from Indian depredations. Whether the people consider themselves more secure in their titles, I shall not take upon me to say; but I am assured that no uneasiness, or fear, prevails as to their safety from Spanish invasion. La Rocca, and his friends, inquired with considerable eagerness about the European emigration to the United States, which they looked upon as an increase of wealth and strength, the acquisition of which they appeared to envy us. They said that every inducement was held out by the govern-

ment and people of this country, to Europeans who were disposed to emigrate; that lands were offered gratis, with oxen and the implements of husbandry, to those who wish to cultivate the earth. In reply, I told them, that there was little or no emigration to the United States during our revolutionary war, and even for some time afterwards, in consequence of the country being engaged in a war for national existence, the success of which was doubtful; end even after it was no longer so, our enemies persisted in believing that we could not establish a government. I told them that if they could satisfy the world on these two points, as we had done, they would have as many emigrants as they could desire, as their soil and climate held out even greater inducements than ours.

On the Monday after our arrival, it was determined, on the part of the commissioners, that I should wait on Mr. Tagle, the secretary-of-state, and request an interview on their behalf.

I accordingly went in company with our consul, Mr. Halcey. We found, at the entrance of the fort, a centinel, and a guard of a few men; although every person is permitted to pass without being questioned. To me, as an American, the circumstance of seeing bayonets stationed every where, was far from being agreeable. In our happy country we stand in no need of such barbarous usages. This military show about the director's residence, and the offices of government, is, however, but a remnant of the pageantry of the viceroys. There is, indeed, much more of it displayed, as I have myself frequently witnessed, by the Spanish or Portuguese governor of some trifling district.

In going to the office of the secretary-of-state, we had to pass through several others, in which a number of clerks were engaged; the appearance of system and regularity which prevailed, would not lose by a comparison with ours. We found the secretary immersed in business, at his desk. I stated to him the occasion of my visit, and, at the same time, presented a newspaper, containing the president's message, in which the objects of the mission were succinctly set forth. I stated to him, that the commissioners were desirous of waiting on him, and wished to be informed at what time it would be convenient for him to receive them. He replied, in the style of Spanish politeness, that he was always at their disposal, and insisted upon my naming the time at which he might be honoured with their visit; the Wednesday following was, therefore, named by me.

He is a small, well-set man, about forty years of age, of a dark complexion, with a keen, penetrating eye. He has the reputation of considerable abilities; he is considered a very

able and eloquent lawyer, and has been a judge of the chamber of appeals. Judging from his physiognomy, I should say that he possesses great native sagacity, and quickness of discernment. He came into office under Alvarez, and has continued in it ever since.

Our arrival produced a great sensation through the city in all classes of people; it was every where the subject of conversation, and gave rise to much surmise; for some days it, in fact, engrossed all the public attention. A small incident will sometimes speak more than things of a thousand times greater importance. In passing by the pyramid, in the great square, I observed, that some preparations had been making for an approaching illumination, on account of the declaration of independence by Chili; I asked a little boy who was playing about it, what was the meaning of these preparations? "*Por la funcion;*" "*que funcion?*" "*La funcion de los diputados,*" said he pettishly, as if surprised at my ignorance, "*de los diputados que han llegado de la America del norte.*" I have no doubt, the government and the people will make the most of the mission, and it will certainly have a most powerful moral influence on the cause of South America.

The commissioners, on the day appointed, paid their respects to the secretary-of-state, and Mr. Rodney, after stating the objects of the mission, expressed the wishes of himself and associates, to wait on the supreme director. The secretary stated, that the government was highly gratified by this notice, from a nation of so high a character as ours, and he offered his services to accompany the commissioners on their visit to the chief-magistrate.

Accordingly, the next day, about noon, we set off to pay this visit of ceremony. On approaching the fort, we found several hundred of the most respectable citizens drawn together by the interest of the occasion, their dress, appearance, and demeanour, was like that of persons of the same rank of society in the United States. Nothing I had yet seen gave me so high an opinion of the population. We found, also, considerable numbers inside the fort, and crowding the entrance to the director's apartments. I can give no idea of the pleasure which seemed to be depicted in their countenances. They all bowed to us as we passed, and said more by their smiles and their looks, than they could have said if each one had pronounced an oration.

In passing through the different offices, to that of the secretary-of-state, we saw a great number of civil officers and functionaries, drawn together by what appeared to be no common holiday, and who shewed us the same marks of respect. The

secretary now joined us, and led us up stairs, to the apartments occupied by the director. We passed through a large hall, where we saw fifty or sixty officers of the regular and civic troops, all in splendid uniforms. They arose, as we entered, forming a line on each side, through which we passed. In the adjoining apartment, we were met by the director, who, with the ease and affability of a polished gentleman, advanced to meet us, and requested us to be seated. He seemed to be upwards of forty years of age, his stature about the middle-size, a little inclining to corpulency, and, upon the whole, his appearance commanding and dignified. His address and manners were those of a person accustomed to the best society, equally removed from coarseness and affectation. It was easily discoverable, that he was a man who had been long accustomed to act a distinguished part in life. He certainly looked like a person who might be chosen by a nation for its magistrate, and no stranger could be surprised at seeing such a man at its head. Though a native of this place, his father was a Swiss, who settled in this country as a merchant, in early youth. His complexion is fair, with blue eyes; his countenance expressive of intelligence and humanity. He has the character of great application to busines, and of that temperate energy so essential in revolutionary times. Some, with no better opportunities of judging than myself, but possessing much deeper penetration into the secret workings of the human heart, could discover that, like Belial, all within was false and hollow; but I must honestly acknowledge, that, for my part, I could not.

After the usual compliments, and some conversation on general topics, Mr. Rodney repeated, in substance, what he had said, with respect to the object of the mission, to the secretary the day before.

On this, the director replied to the commissioners as follows: He declared that, for his country, and for himself, he entertained the highest sense of the honour conferred by this friendly notice on the part of the government of the United States. "We have long since been aware," said he, "that the most friendly feelings and wishes existed towards us, on the part of your country and government. We have ever regarded your country with enthusiastic admiration. We appreciate fully its high character for justice, disinterestedness, and sincerity, and it is beyond the power of words to express how gratifying to us all is this proof of its good wishes. That there should exist a real and unfeigned friendship and sympathy between us is natural. We inhabit the same portion of the globe, our cause has been

once yours, and we are in pursuit of the same objects which you have so happily achieved.

"You will see many things amongst us to excite your surprise. *We are a people who are just beginning to be.* We have had great difficulties to encounter, and have laboured under extraordinary disadvantages. I feel confident, however, that when you come to be better acquainted with our country, you will find that the most ardent love of liberty and independence pervades every part of this community; that in pursuit of these great objects we are all united, and that we are resolved to perish sooner than surrender them. At the same time, we must confess, with deep regret, that dissentions still prevail between different sections of this republic, and which have unfortunately placed one of the most important portions of our country in the hands of a stranger.

"With respect to the objects of the mission, I am anxious to meet the wishes of the commissioners in every particular. I hope all forms of diplomacy may be waived; that all communications may be held as between friends and brothers; that, whenever it may suit the pleasure or convenience of the commissioners, they will address themselves personally to me, or to the secretary-of-state, who will always be found at leisure to attend to them."

Mr. Rodney having made a suitable reply to this address, of which I have given the substance, we took our leave.

In the course of the forenoon, a General Ascuenaga, and some other officers of distinction, made their appearance, for the purpose of returning our visit to the director, as I understand to be the custom on such occasions. The general made a long harangue, which did not amount to much, and then took his leave. Shortly after, we were waited on by the city-council, or cabildo, and a number of other gentlemen of distinction, and amongst them a very sensible and intelligent man, Gascon, the secretary of the treasury. The conversation of course, on these occasions, was very general. They were all, however, complimentary to our country, while they spoke in a very humble manner of the state of things in their own.

In the evening, a guard-of-honour, and a band of music, with the Baron Ollenburg, a German officer, in the service of the republic, and some other officers, made their appearance in the patio. It was given to be understood, that they had come by the orders of the director. They were politely received by the commissioners, but it was suggested, in a delicate manner, that the guard could not be accepted. Upon this, it withdrew, but the band continued playing for several

hours, and during that time, the patio was crowded with ladies and gentlemen, and by a great many that could not with propriety be ranked under either of these denominations.

The dismissal of the guard was thought of sufficient importance to merit an explanation with the director. Mr. Rodney and Mr. Bland accordingly called upon him the next morning for this purpose. Mr. Rodney was going to state the circumstance and the apology, when the director requested permission to anticipate what he was about to say. He said he was perfectly aware of the motives of the commissioners in declining to accept the guard. It was not offered under any idea that it was necessary for their safety, but that, according to the customs of the country, it was one of the modes of shewing respect to distinguished strangers; who were, however, perfectly at liberty to accept, or not, according to their pleasure. He said, that, in order to satisfy his fellow-citizens, who were desirous that every attention should be paid to the commissioners, as well as for the purpose of gratifying his own feelings, he was anxious that no mark of respect should be omitted. He had discharged his duty, and satisfied the expectations of the public.

CHAPTER IV.

The Commissioners visited by the principal Inhabitants—Celebration of the Independence of Chili—The Bull-fights and Theatre.

After an ineffectual search of several days for a furnished house, where the mission might be accommodated, our consul, Mr. Halsey, had politely made an offer of his, which was large and commodious. It was accepted, though not without reluctance, from an unwillingness to put him to inconvenience. Several houses had been previously examined, but were not found suited to our purpose, not to speak of the extravagant demands of the owners. Some of the gentlemen who had taken lodgings, were glad to change their situations, in order to avoid being teazed to death by a certain race, not to be named in good housewifery. The brick floors of the chambers are supposed to favour the multiplication of these tormentors. For my part, I have been fortunate enough to procure a furnished room, for twelve dollars per month, in the house of a decent elderly widow; it was situated in the patio, a beautiful aromatic shrub on one side of the door, and a jessamine on the other, and the neatness and cleanliness which prevailed

every where, could not be surpassed. I found my situation so comfortable that I was unwilling to change it, even after the commissioners had been fixed in their new establishment. Donna Marcella was, besides, an acquaintance of some importance; she knew every one in the city, was shrewd and intelligent, and far from being inclined to hide her light under a bushel. Her house was much frequented by the middle class of people, and even occasionally by those of the higher ranks, if there can properly be said to be any distinction; for the equality prevailing in this respect, is much greater than in the United States; the transition is very sudden, from the respectable part of the community to the lowest grades; the difference can scarcely be considered as founded on the difference of occupations, and not always on purity of character, and correctness of deportment.

After the formalities and ceremonies of our reception by the authorities of the state and city, we had next to go through the duty of receiving and returning visits, which was attended with no small consumption of time. The proportion of the military and clergy among our visitors, led us to form rather an unfavourable opinion of their influence in society. In our cities, on occasions like the present, the most prominent persons, after those in public life, would be of the professions, the clergymen, lawyers, and physicians, gentlemen in easy circumstances, and merchants of standing. But some allowance was to be made for the warlike attitude this city has so long maintained, and the tendency of arms to arrogate all public attention and importance. I afterwards found, also, that many of the military *figurantes* were something like Dr. Ollapod, of the corps of the Galen's head, not soldiers by profession, but probably not wanting in courage to face an invading enemy. In the short and superficial conversations which usually took place, much information could not be gleaned; they generally turned upon the political events of the country. They uniformly spoke with great humility of their political transactions, but dwelt with satisfaction on their efforts in war, and expressed no doubt, or apprehension, of their ultimate success. They lamented the want of general information, and in speaking of the Spanish mis-government, the neglect of education and morals was always the most prominent theme. The frequent changes and revolutions amongst them; the dissentions between different provinces, when a concentration of all their strength was necessary, and the instability of the government hitherto, were spoken of with evident regret. They contrasted these evils with the Elysian fields, which their imaginations represented to them in the United States; the country where

factions and dissentions are unknown; where unity of sentiment and brotherly love every where prevail. This language could only be considered complimentary, for some of them, I found, were not ignorant of our " faults on both sides," although they had never read Mr. Carey's Olive Branch. We could do no less than compliment them in turn, and speak in high terms of the proofs they had given of national spirit.

Among our most distinguished visitors, were Alvarez and Rondeau, the former a young man of twenty-eight or thirty, of fine appearance and elegant manners. He appeared to be extremely desirous of cultivating our acquaintance: his conversation was interesting and intelligent. He had been in the army from his youth; he is a native of Arequipa in Peru, and has several brothers at this time in the Spanish service—such is the nature of civil war. He is married to a niece of General Belgrano, a very superior woman, both in point of personal beauty and accomplishments; he possesses an elevation and manliness of character that would do honour to any country. Rondeau is a small man, but of a firm and manly carriage, apparently about fifty years of age. He was one of the prisoners taken by the British on their first invasion of this country, and carried to England, whence he found his way to Spain, and served some time in the war of the Peninsula, but returned to Buenos Ayres, like other Americans, when his country required his services. He has taken a distinguished part in the revolution, was several times entrusted with the siege of Monte Video, and had brought it nearly to a close, when superseded by Alvear. He gained two victories over the Spaniards in Peru, but lost the battle of Sipe-sipe in November, 1815, though not through deficiency of skill and prudence, which was admitted by his opponent, the Spanish general, Pezuela. He was, however, recalled from the command, and his popularity was for a time obscured. He has an amiable family, but like most of the distinguished officers in this service, his circumstances are rather narrow. Another officer of distinction is General Soler, a remarkably fine figure, six feet two or three inches in height, and of a very soldierly appearance. In private life, however, he is said to be dissipated, and some anecdotes are related of him which give a somewhat unfavourable cast to the state of manners. His wife is a very beautiful but high-spirited woman. Soler commanded the vanguard which crossed the Andes, and for his conduct at the battle of Chacabuco, was presented with a sword on the field by San Martin. This gave rise to a series of publications; his enemies not conceiving him entitled to the reward: those who are inclined to take the middle course, say, that it was an act of generosity on the part of San Martin; that the act for

which he rewarded Soler, was in reality performed by himself, but that Soler had rendered important services as a disciplinarian, and in crossing the mountains. Thus it will be perceived, that the same jealousy of their military fame prevails in this country as in others. A collection of the different publications of this description, that have issued from the press of Buenos Ayres, will furnish some valuable materials for history. We were sometimes visited by Sarratea, who has once been a conspicuous member of the government, and afterwards an agent of the court of London. He is a man of considerable talents and general information; but, from all I could learn, does not stand high in the government, and still lower with the people.

We frequently saw a venerable old man, Funes, dean of Cordova, and the author of the Civil History of Buenos Ayres. Few have taken a more active part in the political events of the country. He received the rudiments of his education from the Jesuits, and afterwards completed it in Spain. He is an excellent belles-lettres scholar, and his writings bear evidence of his extensive reading and classic taste. In the year 1810, at a council convened by Liniers and Concha, he was the only one who voted in favour of acknowledging the junta of Buenos Ayres; when the troops of that place marched against Cordova, he and his brother interceded for the life of Liniers, and the Bishop Orillana; but, as respects the first, without success. He was afterwards a member of the junta of observation, and took an active part in the politics of the day. In the revolutionary convulsions which ensued, he experienced his share of mortifications. He does not seem to have foreseen the troubled and distracted state necessarily produced by such events, and, in consequence, to be somewhat under the influence of chagrin and disappointment. His interests and feelings attaching him to Cordova, his native place, he is inclined towards what is called here the federative system, which is essentially different from ours; but he also thinks that until their independence can be accomplished, it is absolutely necessary to waive all pretensions of this kind, for the sake of a concentration of their strength. I cultivated his acquaintance with assiduity, and through him became acquainted with a number of others who frequented his house. The native priests, in general, though enthusiastic in the cause, and fond of indulging in eloquent declamations, are rather timid politicians. They want nerve for action, and they have a kind of time-serving suppleness, acquired by the early habits of slavish and monastic education. In the profession of the law there is much more boldness, arising from their daily intercourse with the world, and ordinary transactions of life. Funes is thought to be rather unfriendly

to the present administration, but his having withdrawn from political scenes is rather to be attributed to alarm at finding himself on a rougher sea than he had been accustomed to navigate.*

A visit was received from the Bishop of Salta, a man of very advanced years, upwards of eighty, and who was thought not to be much attached to the cause of the revolution; indeed, it has been hinted that his residence here is very little else than a kind of respectful *surveillance.* He said little on the subject of politics, but dropped something about the want of stability in the government, the turbulent and restless spirit that prevailed, *and then shook his head.* It would certainly have been a phenomenon to have found a revolutionary patriot at his years, with his previous education and habits.

Mr. Rodney and myself paid a visit to a respectable old man, who fills the office which we should call postmaster-general; he appeared to be about the same age with the bishop, but we found him a much more agreeable character, his conversation remarkably sprightly and entertaining. He told us that he had organized the establishment, and had occupied the same arm-chair in which he then sat at his desk, upwards of fifty years. Although a native of Spain, he was attached to the patriot cause, having children and grand-children who were all natives of the country. We inquired of him the news from Chili, and he informed us that, from the last accounts, General Osorio was advancing into the province of Conception, at the head of five or six thousand men. We learned, that besides the regular post establishment, which brought the mail once a week from the different provinces, there were expresses continually employed between this place and Chili, as also the provinces of Peru, so as to bring intelligence from the armies of San Martin and Belgrano, with a speed almost incredible.† He told us that his establishment was so arranged, as to enable him, in the course of ten days, to collect horses enough for the different posts to enable the government to send reinforcements of 1000, or 2000 men, to these different points, with a rapidity unknown in any other country. He said, that since the commencement of the war, he had contributed his assistance, in sending three armies to Peru; one of four, another of five, and a third of 7000 men, and in speak-

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* He is at this time President of Congress.

† The journey from Mendoza to Buenos Ayres, upwards of 900 miles, was performed by the express, Escalera, in five days, and from Potosi to Buenos Ayres, 550 leagues, by Dobo, in twelve days.

ing of the perseverance of these people in the midst of all their defeats and reverses, he exclaimed, " *Que pecho, que pecho, tiene esta gente!*"—" What fortitude do these people possess!"

We were also visited by Iregoyen, the secretary-at-war, a young man of thirty-five years of age; he had been a cadet in the Spanish naval service, and had travelled a good deal in Europe. He is rather a shewy man, and from what I could learn, extremely ambitious. We were also visited by members of congress, Zavaletta, Pacheco, Villegas, and a number of others. Among the priests who called on us, was Dr. Belgrano, brother of the general, and who appeared to be a man of solid and respectable talents. The term doctor is given indiscriminately to lawyers and clergymen, but not to physicians; in fact, the science of medicine is extremely low in all the Spanish colonies, and it is very unusual to meet with a Spanish physician of science and learning.

Among our acquaintances, there were two or three with whom I was particularly pleased; the first, a respectable old man, and a near neighbour, of the name of Escalada, the father-in-law of San Martin; this old man was what we should have called, in our revolutionary war, *a true Whig*. He has a large and fine family of children, and grand-children; his house, the place of most agreeable resort for all strangers of any in the city. I frequently spent my evenings here, being almost always sure to find an agreeable party of ladies and gentlemen; the evening was usually passed in sprightly conversation, or in dances, which the old gentleman seemed to take a peculiar pleasure in promoting, very frequently taking part himself, though upwards of seventy years of age: these dances were minuets, to the music of the piano, touched by one of the young ladies. He had adopted a beautiful and interesting girl, then about seventeen, the daughter of a Spanish governor-intendant, and seemed to treat her with the same affection and kindness that he did his own children. The wife of General San Martin was, at this time, living with her father, but appeared to be much dejected in spirits on account of her anxiety for her husband, to whom, from all accounts, she is devotedly attached. She had accompanied him to the foot of the Andes, wished to follow his fortunes across, and was, with much difficulty, dissuaded. Perceiving that she partook in none of the amusements, on inquiring the cause, I was told that she had made a vow of some kind for the success of her husband, which I could not well understand. These private and unobtrusive virtues in the family of San Martin, gave me a very favourable opinion of the man; the excellence and purity of

private life is, after all, the best foundation of public confidence. There can be no dignity of character without them, and we are seldom mistaken in the purity of the actions of men, when this fountain is pure. While in Buenos Ayres, I have frequently heard San Martin and his wife cited as an example of a happy marriage; which is by no means negative praise, in a country where morals are unfortunately depraved, and where the marriage state is held in too little respect. They have but one child, a daughter, three or four years of age. Escalada is a plain citizen, and has never taken any other part than that of a private individual; but he has been enabled, from the possession of considerable wealth, to render service to the cause: he presented each of us with copies of different political works, which he had purchased, for the purpose of distributing gratis; among them, was a history of the United States, with our declaration of independence, General Washington's Farewell Address, and other pieces. Besides his son-in-law, his wife's brother, Quintana, * is in the army of Chili, and his two sons, one eighteen, the other twenty years of age, both gallant youths, are serving under the eye of San Martin. We experienced, on all occasions, from this old gentleman, the utmost kindness and attention, and were invited by him to a splendid entertainment, at a moment when his whole family appeared to be depressed by the most anxious feelings for the fate of their near relations, exposed to the hazards of a dreadful war.

M. Frias, a young lawyer of respectability, and secretary to the cabildo, was one of our most agreeable acquaintances; his manners were highly polished and refined, and he possesses a generosity of heart, a warmth and earnestness of feeling, which shewed, that although born under a despotic government, his character was formed in a republic. He seemed to be peculiarly anxious to cultivate our acquaintance, and to acquire a knowledge of the details of our political institutions. I derived considerable information from him, as well as assistance in procuring papers and documents. He has been married some years to an amiable woman. The ladies are much less addicted to literature than in the United States, in general, but much more so than those of New Orleans. The Spanish literature is, in fact, richer in works which combine moral instruction with amusement, than the French; I observed the sister of M. Frias,

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* This officer was one of those who distinguished themselves in the defence against the British. See Funes, Vol. III. p. 427. It is worthy of notice, that many of those who are now most conspicuous were distinguished at that period; Dias Velis, Viamonte, and Montes de Oca, then but a youth.

reading a translation of Pamela, and I learned that the novels of Richardson are much esteemed among them.

M. Riglos is another of those whose acquaintance we found particularly agreeable. He is of a highly respectable family, and educated in England; he is also a specimen of the young South Americans, whose mind has been formed under the new order of things. He has nothing of the Spanish reserve and distrust in his deportment; his manners, like those of his countrymen, are highly polished, but without that fastidious attention to etiquette, which is so troublesome to a stranger. This gentleman spoke the English remarkably well. The house of Madam Riglos, his mother, who is a widow, is considered one of the most genteel in the city; I have seen few ladies of more polished manners, and I had frequent opportunities of meeting here the most fashionable people.

Soon after our arrival, we became acquainted with a number of strangers, and some Americans settled here. We were frequently visited by the British officer, at present commanding on that station, a man of free and obliging manners and address, but somewhat inclined to be caustic and severe in his remarks, so that considerable allowance was necessary to be made for this propensity, for at times he gave a much more favourable account of things than at others. Mr. Staples, the British consul, or agent, though a much plainer man, appeared to be more solid and judicious, as well as consistent in his observations, and having been here several years, he was qualified to speak with more confidence. He spoke highly of the natural good qualities of the people in general, but especially of the agricultural population in the neighbourhood of the city, and in the villages; he thought them all highly susceptible of improvement, and stated many changes in their habits and character, for the better. He said, that the British officers bore testimony to their mildness and hospitality, when prisoners among them. The letters which passed between them and the different cabildos, were published at the time by the officers, in order to manifest their gratitude. A number of the soldiers settled in the country, and others were, with difficulty, persuaded to return. Some of the officers declared, that, but for their sense of honour, they never would leave the country. The natives, in general, were delighted to see strangers, the very reverse of which was the case with the European Spaniards, who regarded all foreigners with a kind of growling jealousy, as if they had any better right to be here themselves.* Nothing more strongly evinced their mildness

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* Since the revolution, they are themselves regarded as strangers, and the least favoured of any.

of character, than the rare occurrence of violence and bloodshed, in the course of the sudden changes and revolutions of their government. In being released from the shackles of their old system, and without any settled re-organization, it was naturally to be expected, that during the sway of the passions, scenes such as occurred in France would take place. The general equality which prevailed, seemed to bring men closer together, and to produce a stronger sympathy in each other's sufferings and misfortunes. The triumph of one party over another, even after the most violent struggles, was at most followed by the banishment of a few individuals; that in a few instances, where the proscribed were put to death, they produced the most lively sensations on the whole community, and its displeasure was strongly expressed; that the vices of the people were the vices of education only; that, previous to the revolution, they were brought up in idleness, at least seldom induced to embrace useful and industrious callings. The sons of Europeans were never employed in the business of their fathers, who preferred taking any kind of a lad, that happened to be born in Spain; there was a want of an interest on the part of the Spaniards, in the future welfare and advantage of their own offspring. They left them to follow the billiard-tables and gaming-houses, in preference to initiating them into employments which they appeared to think exclusively appertained to those born in Europe. The revolution was producing a sensible change throughout all society.

From these gentlemen, and several English merchants settled here, we received every mark of attention. Although few of them, beside the consul, said much in favour of the people, they appeared all to entertain a sincere wish for their success, which was not at all surprising, considering the deep interest they have at stake. Most of them express doubts of their capacity to establish a solid government, from their want of information, and from their vicious habits; they held out the idea, that if they were placed under the guardianship of some other nation, for twenty or thirty years, so as to keep down their local dissentions, and prevent the recurrence of their internal revolutions, there would be no doubt of their ultimate success. At present there was a want of stability, from their having no settled institutions, or possessing men among them of such weight and influence as to be able to repress factions. It was owing to this cause, that the state had been so frequently split up with feuds and parties. The drift of all this was not difficult to be discovered; I have seen the same idea of guardianship suggested in the Quarterly Review; it means, *the guardianship of England.* But the discovery of such a

disposition on her part would only serve to excite unfriendly feelings towards her; they discover important advantages in mutual intercourse, and are very desirous of cultivating a good understanding with Great Britain, but would be indignant at the idea of any design to exercise a control over them.

Our acquaintance with Mr. Bonpland, the companion of Humboldt, was highly gratifying, especially to Dr. Baldwin. Mr. Bonpland removed to this place with his family about a year ago, and is settled on a quinta, about two miles from town. Such a man is a great acquisition to the country, in making known its resources and advantages. Several French officers were also introduced to us; they had come here to seek their fortunes, but, from their conversations, I discovered they had been somewhat disappointed in their expectations, which were not very moderate or rational. One of them had made up his mind to return to France; "this will be a fine country," said he, "*quand nous serons bien sous terre*, when we shall be well under ground." They complain of there being a good deal of jealousy on the part of the native officers, at seeing foreigners among them, at which I was not at all surprised. The Irish officers are better received than any others; but in general those who enter the service must calculate on meeting with many mortifications; the government is sufficiently disposed to be liberal, but they are not so well received in the army. It is highly probable that some cause for this has been given, by their indiscretion in betraying their feelings of superiority, whether real or false, and by their setting up pretensions they have not been able to realize. They do not reflect, that, during this protracted war, many valuable officers have been found among the natives, and that the people of these countries have a greater inclination to the profession of arms than for any other pursuit.

About ten days after our arrival, the independence of Chili was celebrated in the city. The illuminations, and other public demonstrations, were continued during three successive days, as is usual on all occasions of this kind. The flags of Chili and the United Provinces were suspended from the cabildo, and the independence of Chili publicly announced by *bando*, or proclamation, in the plaza. The pyramid of the revolution was elegantly ornamented with flags, and a variety of patriotic inscriptions. I observed great satisfaction expressed in the countenances of the people, especially those of the country, very different from the stupid gaze of amazement I had remarked at Rio. In the afternoon, the youth from some of the higher seminaries of learning, about seventy or eighty in number, marched to the pyramid in procession, headed by the

professors, and after reading the inscriptions and making their observations, dispersed. Soon after, the boys from the different schools marched with flags, in different companies, to the number of at least six or eight hundred. They formed a hollow square, enclosing the pyramid, and raised the national song; each side of a square singing a stanza in succession, and the whole joining in the chorus, at the same time waving their flags. When they had sung their hymn, some of those who excelled in speaking, stood forward and delivered patriotic orations. After this, a dialogue was kept up for some time, which consisted of questions put by one for the sake of the answers given by another, containing some simple propositions of political and civil liberty, or patriotic sentiments, together with professions of veneration for their religion. The combination of such expressions as "*los derechos del hombre,*" and "*neustra santa religion catolica,*" had a strange effect to my ear, but I do not, for this, pretend to condemn it; although it differs from what I have been accustomed to, circumstances may render it necessary and proper here. I am disposed to believe, that the rising generation are far from being inclined to superstition and bigotry; the danger is, their neglecting religion, which is so essential to every well-regulated state; it may be prudent, also, to associate in the minds of their youth, the cause of religion with that of their country, so that both may be esteemed, by this means, more sacred. Few of these boys appeared to exceed twelve years of age; they were dressed, in general, like those of our cities, but a proportion, sufficient to be remarked, were a good deal bronzed; the greater part, however, had good complexions, and all had animated and expressive countenances. Amongst the crowd of people collected in order to be amused, or to catch the fire of patriotism from this exhibition, the figures which most attracted my notice, were several of the gauchos of the neighbouring pampas, who sat on their horses with much gravity and composure, apparently pleased with what was passing, but that pleasure very faintly expressed in their countenances. There is no doubt that these exhibitions must have a powerful effect on all classes of society, and, with the youth, they give rise to sentiments and feelings inseparable from their very existence. I afterwards found, that it is the custom for the boys to go through the same ceremony once a-week. I have been informed, that much more of this enthusiasm, resembling that of the French revolution, prevailed some time ago, from which it has been inferred, that the interest in the cause itself is on the wane; in this, however, I do not agree, but rather believe that it is owing to its having settled down into something more deep and solid than the first effervescence of public

spirit; there is evidently less demonstration of enthusiasm in the cause of independence in our country, than during the period of the revolution, but no one can suppose that it rests upon a less solid foundation.

Printed copies of the declaration of independence of Chili were sent to each of the commissioners, together with medals, struck on the occasion, in gold and silver. I attended a theatre in the evening, where a *funcion*, or ceremony, was got up for the occasion. I shall defer the description of this amusement, until I shall make some further observations on the event just described. From this public and solemn expression, there was no room left to doubt, that the idea of holding Chili in subjection had nothing in it of reality. This I could gather from a thousand minor circumstances, while on the spot, which produced a much stronger conviction in my mind of their sincerity, than any thing I am able to state.

Our arrival at Buenos Ayres happened to be during Lent; the circus and theatre were closed, and public amusements suspended. I felt some curiosity to witness the bull-fights, the favourite amusement in all Spanish countries. As soon as the circus was opened, I took the earliest opportunity of attending it. It is a circular amphitheatre, capable of containing between four and five thousand persons. The arena is about 150 feet in diameter, with an enclosure of about six feet high, with openings at intervals, sufficiently wide to admit the body of a man; at one end, there is a small covered pen, with stalls, in which the bulls are confined, and opening into the arena by a gate. On the opposite side there is a large gate, at which the bulls are dragged out after being killed. I found the place considerably crowded, but chiefly by the lower classes of people, at least the females appeared to be such. At one side of the toro, there was a seat appropriated to the city authorities; formerly, the viceroy and some of the principal public functionaries, had also their places set apart, but this is no longer the case, as it is considered even disreputable for those persons to be seen here. The town-major, who is the chief officer of the police, always attends on these occasions, and presides, in order to prevent any disorder or disturbance. Immediately below his seat there was a band of music, which played before the commencement of the bull-fights, and during the intervals between them. When the spectators had begun to assemble, a guard of soldiers, about thirty in number, was marched into the arena, and, after going through a variety of evolutions, were divided into small detachments, and distributed through the different parts of the toro. The different combatants who were to display their skill and courage on the

occasion, came forward, and made their obeisance to the town-major, and then retired to their places. The first two, called the *picadores,* were on horseback, one a Chilian, of enormous stature and bodily strength, the other a half Indian, of a more delicate frame, and a more sprightly countenance. They had both been convicted of crimes, and condemned to fight-bulls for the amusement of the public; their irons were not taken off until immediately before entering the toro. There were five or six others, called *bandaleros,* with different coloured flags, for the purpose of provoking and teasing the bull; the last were the *mattadores,* having in the left hand a flag, and in the right a sword. The *picadores* were armed with pikes, about twelve feet in length, with the point so shaped, as to wound the animal without penetrating deeply; they posted themselves on the left side of the place whence the bull was to be let out, and at the distance of fifteen or twenty paces from each other. On the signal given, the gate flew open, and a furious animal rushed forth. He immediately made at the Chilian, but feeling the point of the steel in his shoulder, he suddenly wheeled round and ran towards the middle of the arena, when the *bandaleros* endeavoured to provoke him with their flags. It was the turn of the mestiso to receive him next on his lance, but, it was not until after the bull had chased both several times round the circus, that he could venture to take such a position as would justify his engaging him; it was necessary to be near the enclosure, so as to have its support, otherwise, in a furious assault of the bull, he might be overturned. The animal attacked the half Indian with greater fury than the other, but on feeling the steel, withdrew in the same manner; after this was repeated several times, the bull seemed no longer inclined to attack the *picadores.* At the tap of the drum, the *picadores* withdrew from the contest; the *bandaleros* next advanced with crackers, which they dexterously thrust into different parts of the animal's body, who had now become rather sullen, but as soon as they exploded and scorched him severely, he grew furious, and ran about bellowing with rage and agony: no one but a savage could witness this scene, for the first time, without being shocked. The crackers being consumed, the animal stood still, his tongue lolling out, with panting sides, and eyes blind with rage. The *mattadore* now came forward; at first, the generous animal shewed reluctance to take notice of him, but on being provoked, he made a plunge at the flag held in his hand, while the *mattadore,* dexterously avoiding him, thrust his sword between the neck and shoulder, thus giving him a mortal wound. The band of music struck up, the gates of the toro were thrown open, five or six gauchos

rushed in on horseback, threw their lassoes about him, some fastening round his horns, others about his legs and body, and in this manner, in an instant, bore him out of the circus, in the midst of the shouts of the multitude. Seven other bulls were let out in succession, and the same circumstances repeated with very little variation. The whole was terminated with a feat, performed by a wild gaucho; the bull being let out, he was immediately lassoed by the gauchos on horseback, who threw him, and held him fast by pulling in opposite directions; he was then tied, and a saddle girt put on him by the gaucho, who was bare-legged, and had nothing on but a shirt, and a kind of petticoat, something like a Scotch kilt, the ordinary dress of these people. The animal being properly prepared, he was suffered to rise with the gaucho on his back, and ran perfectly wild and furious around the circus, leaping, plunging, and bellowing, to the great diversion of the spectators, while the gaucho was continually goading him with an enormous pair of spurs, and lashing him with his whip. When the animal was sufficiently tortured in this way, the gaucho drew his knife and plunged it into the spinal marrow; the bull fell as if struck by lightning, rolled upon his back with his feet in the air, which were not even seen to quiver. Such is the barbarous *amusement* of bull-fighting, formerly the delight of the representatives of the kings of Spain, and their mimic royalty; in a more enlightened and a happier age, confined here to the coarse and vulgar, and, it is to be hoped, that, in the progress of science, liberty, and civilization, will disappear for ever.

The theatre was attended by respectable people, but I found it in a low state, though I had not expected much. It is but an indifferent building, yet capable of containing a considerable number of persons. The ladies were dressed with taste and elegance, and some of them handsome. With respect to the interior arrangements, the orchestra, the scenery, the dresses of the actors, and the whole of the performance, I presume they were about equal to our theatre during our revolutionary war. When the curtain rose, the national hymn was sung by the whole of the theatric corps, accompanied by the orchestra, during which, it is the etiquette for every person to stand up; the song was followed by thunders of applause. The performance is about equal to that of New Orleans, except that the prompter takes rather too audible a part. Between the acts, the audience flow into an extensive coffee-house, which communicates by a folding door. Here hundreds are seen, officers and citizens, walking about promiscuously, or in groups around small tables, drinking chocolate or coffee, or taking other re-

freshments. The men of Buenos Ayres idle away a great deal of their time at these places, of which there are six or eight in the city; they are always crowded at noon and in the evening, as at New Orleans.

There is a society *de buen gusto*, for the purpose of improving the stage; it is one of the modes in a free country of inculcating patriotic sentiments. Several very good plays have been translated and performed, and occasional pieces got up. In honour of the victory of Chacabuco, a dramatic production of some merit was produced, entitled the battle of Marathon, the incidents of which somewhat resemble each other. The tragedy of Pizarro has been translated, and is sometimes performed, and also several other pieces.

The late viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, of which that city was the metropolis, was by many considered the largest, as well as the most valuable of all the Spanish dominions in South America, extending in a direct line from its north to its south boundary, a distance of more than 2000 miles; and from its eastern to its western, not less than 1,100.

It was composed, at the commencement of the revolution, of the nine provinces or intendencies following: Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Cordova, Salta, Potosi, La Plata, Cochabamba, La Paz, and Puno.

Watered by the great river La Plata and its numerous tributary streams, which afford an easy communication with countries of an immense extent, and furnishing an easy access to the treasures of South America, it has always been regarded by Spain as one of her most precious acquisitions. Enjoying every variety of climate to be found between different and distant latitudes, and blessed with a large portion of fertile soil, it is capable of producing all that is to be found in the temperate or torrid zones. Immense herds of cattle and horses graze on its extensive plains, and constitute, at this time, their principal source of wealth. The mines of Potosi are also included within its boundaries. There are no woods for a very considerable distance from Buenos Ayres. No forest-trees are to be seen on the widely-extended pampas, except at intervals, a solitary umboo. After passing the Saladillo, in a northerly direction, the woods begin, and, proceeding in the upper provinces, the hills appear, and mountains rise in succession, interspersed with rich vallies. On the east side of the rivers La Plata and Parana, the country is said to be very fine. The Entre Rios is represented as capable of being made a garden-spot; and the Banda Oriental presents hills and dales, rich bottoms, fine streams of water, and at a distance from the great river, on the banks of the smaller streams, some excellent

woodland. Between Maldonada and Monte Video, the east-ridge of the Cordilleras, terminates on the river La Plata.

Since the revolution, five more provinces have been erected making, in all, fourteen within the limits of the ancient viceroyalty, viz. Tucaman, taken from Salta; Mendoza, or Cuyo, taken from Cordova; Corrientes, Entre Rios, comprising the country between the Uraguay and the Parana, and the Banda Oriental, or eastern shore of the river La Plata. The two last were taken from the province of Buenos Ayres, which was thus reduced to the territory on the south side of that river.

Of the fourteen provinces into which the ancient viceroyalty is now divided, five were, at my departure, principally occupied by the royal forces, (which, in consquence of the victory of Maipu, were expected soon to retreat to Lower Peru,) or partially under their influence, viz. Potosi, La Plata, Cochabamba, La Paz, and Puno; and the nine following independent, *de-facto* of Spain, were in the possession of the patriots, viz. Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Mendoza, Salta, Corrientes, Entre Rios, and Banda Oriental. But Paraguay, and the city of Santa Fee, act independently of Buenos Ayres. Though Paraguay is not on unfriendly terms with them, and it is hoped, by some, will before long join the union. Entre Rios and the Banda Oriental, under General Artigas, in the character of chief of the Orientals, are in a state of hostility with Buenos Ayres.

Monte Video, the capital of the eastern shore, was occupied by a Portuguese army, and a squadron of ships-of-war from Brazil, blockaded the ports of Colonia and Maldovado, and prohibited the entrance of neutral vessels, unless they paid them the same duties on their cargoes, that were charged on the importation of the goods when landed in the country,

The territory of the United Provinces is computed to contain 150,000 square leagues, though it probably exceeds that quantity. The lands occupied in the country, remote from the cities, are generally converted by their owners into estancias, or large grazing farms for cattle, and chacras for growing grain. The small farms, or quintas, in the neighbourhood of cities, are in fine order. Those around Buenos Ayres, which furnish their market with an ample supply of fruit and vegetables, are, by irrigation, in the highest state of culture.

The population, exclusive of the Indians, is now calculated at about 1,300,000; but adding the civilized Indians only, who are of great importance, it would, in all, probably exceed 2,000,000.

The whole population consists of nations of Old Spain, and their descendants born in the country, or as they style themselves, South Americans; of Indians civilized, or unreclaimed,

with different "casts," or mixed blood; of Africans and their descendants, or Negroes and Mulattoes.

I could not ascertain, with satisfaction, the population of the different provinces: the province of Buenos Ayres contains about 120,000, whilst the population of Entre Rios, and Banda Oriental, is computed at 50,000.

The city of Buenos Ayres contains a population of 60,000. The inhabitants of this place appear to be an amiable and interesting people. They are considered brave and humane, possessing intelligence, capable of great exertions and perseverance, and manifesting a cheerful devotion to the cause of freedom and independence.

There is also a certain mediocrity and equality of fortune prevailing among them, extremely favourable to a union of the popular sentiment, in support of the common weal. Many industrious mechanics, and enterprising merchants, are, however, increasing their estates, and adding to the stock of capital in the country.

The people of the province of Buenos Ayres, residing out of the city, are, generally speaking, poor, and rather indolent. Though a hardy race, and when excited to action, they become zealous defenders of the liberties of their country. They are capable of great improvement, and under the influence of a good example, when a change takes place in their manner and habit of living, they bid fair to become useful and industrious citizens.

The inhabitants of Cordova are said to be more superstitious, and more industrious, but less patriotic. This is principally attributed to the loss of the trade with Peru, occasioned by the revolutionary war.

Tucuman, I was informed, possessed an excellent population.

The people of Mendoza, or Cuyo, are moral, industrious, and patriotic. They have sacrificed largely at the shrine of independence, supporting with zeal and confidence the cause of their country; whist the citizens of Santa Fee are represented as immoral and insubordinate, and manifesting, on most occasions, an extreme jealousy of their neighbours.

The population of Entre Rios and Banda Oriental, is perhaps not inferior in value to that of Buenos Ayres; nor is it deficient in military skill, particularly in carrying on a partisan warfare, for which its troops are admirably adapted. Their other good qualities have been, probably, somewhat impaired by the system pursued in that quarter, where they have been compelled to give up every thing like civil avocations, and to continue without any regular kind of government, under the

absolute control of a chief, who, whatever may be his political principles, or professions, in practice concentrates all power, legislative, judicial, and executive, in himself.

The General Congress of the United Provinces, assembled at Buenos Ayres, on the 3d of December, 1817, established, by a provincial statute, a temporary form of government.

This congress is comprised of deputies from the different provinces. It actually consists of twenty-six members. But as a representative is allowed for every fifteen thousand citizens, it would be more numerous if all the provinces had sent delegates in that ratio of population.

With some exceptions, and particularly of that palladium of our rights, which is unknown to the civil law, the trial by jury, the provisional constitution will be found, on an attentive perusal, to contain a distinct recognition of many of the vital principles of free government. A church establishment also, that of the Catholic faith, is contrary to our ideas of religious freedom; though a measure adopted from necessity, perhaps, by them.

It declares that all power, legislative, judicial, and executive, resides in the nation. The congress are to be chosen by electors, who are to be voted for by the people in the primary assemblies. The cabildos, or municipalities, are to be elected immediately by the citizens. It recognises the independence of the judiciary, and declares the tenure of office, with respect to the superior judges, to be held during good behaviour. It provides for the election of a chief magistrate by congress, removeable when they choose to appoint a successor, and responsible for the execution of the duties of his office, which are defined and limited. In the oath of office, he is sworn to preserve the integrity and independence of the country.

The three great departments of state, of the treasury, and of war, are distinctly marked out, and their respective powers and duties assigned.

On some subjects, it enters more into detail than is usual with us, particularly in those of their army, navy, and militia. But this, perhaps, in their situation, was necessary.

It provides that no citizen shall accept a title of nobility, without forfeiting the character of citizenship.

It provides also against general warrants, and the arrest of individuals, unless on probable proof of guilt.

It contains a salutary provision that a judge, having original jurisdiction, before taking cognizance of a cause, shall use all possible means of reconciling the parties. This constitution is but temporary; the congress are engaged in the task of forming a permanent one. In the mean time no alteration can be made

in the present, unless with the consent of two-thirds of the members. In this manner some alterations have been adopted.

The subject of a permanent constitution was before a committee of sixteen members of congress. There was a difference of opinion prevailing amongst them, on the point of a confederated or a consolidated government. If they should adopt the former, they will frame the constitution, in all probability, nearly after the model of that of the United States. Should they decide on the latter, it it is highly probable they will incorporate the leading features of our system into their form of government. They seem to concur in the proposition, to have a chief magistrate elected for a term of years, and a representative legislature to consist of two branches. A senate, to constitute the most permanent body, and a house of representatives, whose term of service will be of shorter duration.

Perhaps it would be better for them to delay the completion of this all-important task, after the example of the United States, until a period of peace. Their present provisional statute is an improvement on those which preceded it; and we may expect their proposed constitution will be still more perfect, as they advance in the knowledge of those principles on which republican governments are constituted.

There is a considerable internal trade carried on in the interchange of various articles, between the several provinces; cattle, horses, and mules, furnish a considerable source of barter; with the latter, Peru is usually supplied: the Paraguay tea is a great article of trade throughout the country; the brandy, wine, raisins, and figs of Mendoza and San Juan, are becoming important; the hides of oxen, the skins of the vacuna and granaco, with a number of fine furs, afford valuable articles of exchange. These, with the foreign goods, are transported in every direction from Buenos Ayres, very readily, by oxen and mules.

Their navy is small, and some of their vessels are laid up, which also furnish the means of carrying their native productions to their sea-ports, form a branch of trade of great magnitude, considering the population of the country.

Their exports are calculated with some degree of accuracy, at 10,000,000 dollars. These consist principally of ox-hides, jerk beef, and tallow, the present great staple of the country. A variety of furs and peltry, some grain, copper, mostly brought from Chili; with gold and silver in bullion, and in coin, chiefly from the mines of Potosi.

The imports are computed to be about equal to their exports. British manufactures form the principal mass, and they are to be had in great abundance. They consist of woollen and

cotton goods of every description; some of them wrought to imitate the manufactures of the country; ironmongery, cutlery, hardware, saddlery, hats, porter, ale, and cheese, are among the remaining articles.

From the United States they receive lumber of all kinds, and furniture of every description, coaches and carriages of all sorts, cod-fish, mackerel, shad and herring, leather, boots and shoes, powder and munitions of war, and naval-stores, ships and vessels, particularly those calculated for their navy or for privateers.

From Brazils they receive sugar, coffee, cotton, and rum. From the north of Europe they receive steel and iron, and from France, a number of articles of its manufacture.

Their foreign commerce is principally carried on by British capitalists, though there are some Americans, a few French, and other foreign merchants, also settled at Buenos Ayres; they are all placed, I believe, on the same footing of equality.

The revenue of the state may be estimated at about 3,000,000 of dollars annually; but their system of finance is very imperfect, and although their debt is small, their credit is low; they have hitherto avoided the issuing of paper-money, and they have established no bank; but they have sometimes anticipated their revenue, by giving due bills, receivable in payment for duties, or goods imported, or articles exported; the impost furnishes the principal part of the revenue. A copy of their tariff, as at first established, was some time since transmitted, I believe, to the department of state. In this, the duties were generally specific and high. I understand they have been lately reduced, as their exorbitancy had occasioned much smuggling.

The mines of Potosi, which, in all probability, will very soon fall into their hands again, may furnish them with a considerable supply of the precious metals. It is stated, on respectable authority, that, so late as the year 1790, the amount of gold and silver coined at Potosi, in that year, was calculated to have been 299,846 dollars in gold, and 2,983,176 dollars in silver.

Their army is composed of regular troops, civicos, and militia. In one or other of these classes, they are educated to the military art, and, as far as I had an opportunity, and was capable of judging, they appeared to be well acquainted with the elements of their profession. Their forces, according to the paper furnished, are estimated at nearly 30,000 men. They are composed of 1,296 artillery, 13,693 infantry, and 14,718 cavalry; of which, 12,143 are troops of the line, 7,041 are civicos, and 10,573 are militia. These form the different armies of the centre of Peru, of the Andes, of Cordova, and

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the auxiliary forces in the Entre Rios. This statement, however, only includes the militia of the province of Buenos Ayres itself. Their supply of arms and munitions of war is ample.

General Artigas (who bears the character of chief of the Orientals, and has assumed that of the protector of the Entre Rios, and Santa Fee,) was originally in the royal service, a captain in a provincial corps. In this he continued for some time after the revolution had commenced at Buenos Ayres. But, in the year 1811, taking offence, as it is said, at some conduct of the Spanish commandant of Colonia, he abandoned the royal cause, and entered into the service of the patriots. So early as the year 1813, when acting against Monte Video, he became dissatisfied with Saratea, the commander-in-chief from Buenos Ayres. On his removal from the head of the army, he quarrelled with General Rondeau, who, it was supposed, would have been acceptable to him, and finally withdrew, before the siege of Monte Video was finished under General Alvear. For this conduct, Posadas, when he succeeded to the government, treated him as a deserter from their service. By a proclamation, he offered a reward for his apprehension, and set a price upon his head: an act which General Artigas never forgot or forgave.

During the subsequent directorship of Alvear, he induced the cabildo of Buenos Ayres to issue a similar proclamation against General Artigas. When Alvear was dismissed, the people of Buenos Ayres endeavoured to atone for their conduct, by burning, with every mark of ignominy, the degrading proclamation. They also addressed a conciliatory letter to the general, and received from him a corresponding answer. These were preliminary to a fruitless attempt at reconciliation, made by the director, *ad interim*, Colonel Alvares, who succeeded Alvear. Other endeavours to reconcile him have failed, notwithstanding the changes in the office of director at Buenos Ayres. On one occasion, the proposition was made that the Banda Oriental should remain independent of Buenos Ayres, and merely send deputies to the general congress, to concert measures against the common enemy. On another, when the Portuguese army was approaching the frontiers of the Banda Oriental, an effort was made by Pueyrredon to reconcile him, and to unite him in the common defence. Ample supplies of arms and munitions of war were offered, and some furnished, but this attempt also failed.

I must not omit to take a glance at the situation of Paraguay. This province presents a singular spectacle. It stands aloof from the rest. The people, with the aid of the few remaining royal troops, repulsed an army sent to compel them to join the

common standard. Very soon afterwards they expelled the royalists, and set up for themselves. Since that period, they appear to have adopted a partial non-intercourse system. But Buenos Ayres, on one occasion, succeeded in obtaining an understanding with them. Some suspect that they are secretly inimical to the existing order of things, and wish to keep themselves within their shell in case of a change, that they may profit by future events; others calculate, with some confidence, on their ultimate union with Buenos Ayres, with which, at present, they indulge a limited, and reluctant intercourse. Paraguay is under the immediate controul of a person named Francia, who styles himself dictator of Paraguay.

CHAPTER IV.

The Principal Occurrences at Buenos Ayres since the Commencement of their Revolution.

THE revolution at Buenos Ayres may be dated as far back as the first invasion by the British under Beresford, in June, 1806. The country was, at that time, almost in a state of abandonment on the part of Spain. She had a few wretched troops at Buenos Ayres and Monte Video; and an indifferent naval force, chiefly stationed at the latter of these places, which, from the circumstances of being nearer the ocean, and having a better harbour, was the naval depôt. While Napoleon was preying on the Spanish monarchy in Europe, the feeble and defenceless state of the Spanish American colonies held out strong temptations to the avarice of England. Sobre Monte, at this time the viceroy of La Plata, seems to have been totally devoid of energy and talents; and, when the British expedition, under Beresford and Sir Home Popham, appeared, the city of Buenos Ayres fell an easy conquest. The Spaniards had neither soldiers nor arms; the inhabitants, far from being accustomed to rally round the standard of their country in times of danger, had not even been permitted to think they had a country. From a people entirely excluded from any participation in national or political affairs, indifference and apathy were to be expected. An idle shew of resistance, it is true, was made by Sobre Monte, a few arms were distributed to the militia;* but, to use the words of Mr.

* I was told by a respectable officer, that they had not more than 300 good stand of arms in the city.

Poinsett, "ignorant of their use, they ran about without order to look at the enemy, while General Beresford, with 2000 men, marched into the city and took possession of the citadel without opposition. Don Juan Martin Pueyrredon was the only officer, at the head of a company of hussars, that harassed the enemy's march." The viceroy fled panic-struck to Cordova, in the interior.

But the same people, when left to themselves, soon discovered energies which astonished the invaders. They appeared to awaken as from a dream, or rather to be aroused into life, from a state of lethargy or stupor. Inflamed with indignation at the imbecile conduct of the ruler, whom chance, favouritism, or bribery, had placed over them, and chagrined at seeing their native soil in the possession of foreigners, they soon began to meditate upon the means of effecting their expulsion. Liniers, a captain in the navy, and a Frenchman by birth, not being included in the capitulation, was at liberty to take immediate steps with a view to this object. He entered into a secret correspondence with several members of the cabildo of Buenos Ayres, the most conspicuous of whom were Alzaga, an European Spaniard, and the present director, Pueyrredon. He, at the same time, applied for assistance to the governor of Monte Video, who could spare him only the marines and seamen at that place. With these, and such volunteers as could be collected at Colonia, he suddenly crossed the river, and, in the vicinity of the capital, was joined by the force collected and embodied by Pueyrredon, consisting of the neighbouring peasants, and such of the citizens as had escaped from the city. The British were attacked, and, after an obstinate resistance, compelled to surrender at discretion.

Liniers was acknowledged their deliverer, and the people, now abandoned to themselves, by the desertion of Sobre Monte, and being thus self-rescued, conceived they had a right to make choice of their ruler. A general meeting of the citizens was called, and it was resolved to invest Liniers with the power and dignity of viceroy. Although no other change was effected in any department of the government, this cannot but be regarded as the first step towards their emancipation.

The year after the surrender of Beresford, the formidable invasion under General Whitlock took place. He attacked the city of Buenos Ayres, with an army of 12,000 men; but was encountered, on this occasion, by a people accustomed to the use of arms, and who felt a confidence in their ability to defend themselves. His signal defeat is well known. This second victory, won by the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, would lose nothing by comparison with that of New Orleans, and its effect,

upon the people themselves, must necessarily have been great. But they were still so far from entertaining publicly, any ideas of complete independence, that an attempt made by Beresford, previous to this last affair, to induce some of the citizens to form a plan for throwing off the Spanish allegiance, drew upon him general indignation, and occasioned the punishment of those who lent an ear to his seductions.

Liniers became the popular idol, and appears to have conducted himself with prudence and moderation, but, at the same time, with the most inflexible fidelity to the king and country of Spain. For it is to be observed, that the distinction was made at an early period of those difficulties, in which Spain and her colonies were soon after involved, between allegiance to the king, to which the latter, according to the laws of the Indies, believed themselves bound, *and allegiance to the country of Spain itself*, which was claimed by her juntas, and other provisional governments. The troubles of the Spanish monarchy came on, England became its ally and defender, and Napoleon alone was held up as the object of fear and hatred throughout the colonies.

In this situation of the public mind, Liniers, who was obliged to temporise, incurred the suspicion of both parties. The circumstance of his being a Frenchman by birth, gave occasion to those who feared his popularity, or envied his success, to sow distrust of him.

The arrival of General Elio at Monte Video, was followed by the first symptoms of disaffection to his authority. The European Spaniards, who form a much greater proportion of the population there than at Buenos Ayres, uniting with the officers of the army and navy, got up a junta, acknowledging dependence on those of Spain. But a more serious attempt was made in the capital itself, by persons of the same description, to remove Liniers from the station of viceroy; they succeeded so far as to place him under the necessity of resigning; but this was no sooner made known, than the patricios, or native civic militia, took up arms in his support, and again restored him to authority, while a number of the European Spaniards, concerned in this and the former transactions, were banished to Patagonia.

A formal proposition followed next, on the part of the princess and the infant Don Pedro, to take under their guardianship these unhappy countries, now in a state of orphanage by the imprisonment of her brother Ferdinand. Whatever might be the private sentiments and wishes of Liniers, it is very evident that public opinion would not have permitted him to have acceded to a proposal, which would have been disap-

proved of even by the European Spaniards; and it is equally evident that, at this time, his authority had scarcely any other foundation than that of his popularity. The proposition was therefore rejected with some shew of indignation. He was, however, successful in preventing the formation of a junta in Buenos Ayres, which, no doubt, would have been immediately attended with serious consequences; in this he completely seconded the policy of the provisional governments of Spain, which was only to permit the formation of juntas in those American cities where the preponderance of Europeans insured their fidelity.

A more free intercourse with foreigners had begun to subsist under the administration of Liniers. A vast quantity of English manufactures had been smuggled into the country, and, from the friendly footing of the English and Spanish nations, the individuals of the former were received with peculiar favour. It is natural, therefore, that the subject of trade and commerce should be seized upon by those secretly planning the revolution, in order to give direction to the public feeling. The inhabitants of the city and vicinity convened, for the purpose of considering these important matters. The result was an elaborate memorial addressed to the viceroy, by the merchants and landholders, praying for an entire freedom of commerce with all the world.

The universal cry was for the formation of a junta, into whose hands the people might safely confide the government. The cabildo, or municipality, taking the lead on this occasion, sent an intimation to the viceroy, on the 20th of May, 1810, that it had become indispensable that he should resign his office, *since the power whence he derived it appeared no longer to exist.*

On the 24th it was announced, by bando, that the following persons were elected to compose the junta, to wit;—the viceroy Cisneros, Dr. Soler, Dr. Casteli, Colonel Saavedra, and Inchauraqua, to be conjointly styled their excellency. This selection was no sooner made known, than general murmurs and discontents broke forth. The civic officers, who, *in virtue of their military characters,* took the lead in these popular commotions, presented themselves to the cabildo, who annulled their former election, and proceeded to appoint persons more agreeable to their wishes. These were the chief of the patricios, (native corps,) Colonel Saavedra, as president, and Dr. Casteli, Manuel Belgrano, Manuel Alberti, curate of the parish of St. Nicholas, Miguel de Ascuenega, colonel of militia, Domingo Matteo, a Catalonian merchant, and Juan Larrea, also an European Spaniard from the same province. Two

persons were selected as secretaries, Dr. Juan Jose Passo, and Mariano Moreno. The next day, the 25th, which has ever since been observed as the anniversary of their political regeneration, a manifesto announced these proceedings of the cabildo, and which seemed to give universal satisfaction. On the members of the cabildo presenting themselves in the gallery of the town-house, before the assembled multitude in the public square, and the act being read, it was approved by general acclamation.

The installation of the junta was followed by an attempt to prevail on the inhabitants of Monte Video, to follow the example. Dr. Passo, one of the junta, was sent there with this view; a congress similar to that which had taken place at Buenos Ayres, was called; but the native inhabitants, although actuated by the same feelings with their countrymen at Buenos Ayres, were prevented from coming to the same determination, by the interference of the naval officers, and the influence of the European Spaniards. In the meantime, a vessel arrived with the news of the installation of the regency, and the false intelligence, that the tide of fortune on the Peninsula had turned in favour of the Spaniards, who were represented as every where victorious. Passo was obliged to return without success.

The next, and the most important step, was to obtain the concurrence of all the different towns and provinces of the viceroyalty. Buenos Ayres claimed this as the capital, from those districts which had previously been dependencies; at least, of the audiencia of La Plata. Governing in the name of Ferdinand, she professed to retain the viceroyalty entire, until the sense of the people of the viceroyalty could be taken, as to the modification, or administration, of the government. The towns and villages of the province of Buenos Ayres, with the exception of Monte Video, acknowledged the provisional government; the other towns of the Banda Oriental, (Colonia, Maldonado, and Conception,) with the principal part of the population, did not follow the example of their capital, but recognized the junta. The districts of Mendoza, St. Louis, and San Juan, sent in their adhesion to Buenos Ayres, as the capital of the viceroyalty. The province of Cordova, then under the government of Concha, an European Spaniard, who had been rewarded with this post for his conduct in the defence against the British, was at first restrained from entering into the confederacy by his influence, supported by the exertions of Liniers, who had retired to this place, and those of the Bishop Orillana.

At a meeting, convened for the purpose of taking the sub-

ject into consideration, Funes, the Dean of Cordova, and historian of the country, was the only person who ventured to take the side of the junta; which he did, in an eloquent discourse, afterwards published. The wishes of the people in this quarter were, by no means, in accordance with the determination of their chiefs, and when a military force soon after arrived, under Ocampo, the chiefs were abandoned by the troops they had collected on the spur of the occasion. The bishop, Concha, and Liniers, were seized, and notwithstanding the intercessions of Funes and his brother, the two latter were put to death, in alleged retaliation for the murders committed in Peru; thus staining the cause of the revolution by blood. It was unfortunate that one of the first victims should have been a man to whom the country was so much indebted; who, whatever might have been his ultimate intentions, certainly enabled the people to take the first step towards their emancipation.

The die was now cast; there was no course left to the leaders of the revolution, but to advance; they were placed between victory and death; they had boldly asserted, that the dependence of the Indies had temporarily ceased with the captivity of the king; that no separate or distinct jurisdiction, or government of the monarchy, had a right to assume authority over another; but that each distinct and separate government had a right, in this state of things, to take care of itself.

A few months after the revolution at Buenos Ayres, Pueyrredon arrived from Rio Janeiro, and was immediately appointed governor of Cordova, while Belgrano marched against Velasco, the Spanish governor of Paraguay, who still maintained the Spanish authority. Yedras, with the regular troops and militia, worsted Belgrano in two successive engagements, probably having a great superiority of force. The general, however, opened a communication with some of the principal inhabitants, in consequence of which, they put down the Spanish authorities, sending Velasco a prisoner to Buenos Ayres, and establishing a junta, but without acknowledging that of the capital. With these steps Belgrano was satisfied, and withdrew his forces.

With the exception of the town of Monte Video, the whole of the viceroyalty had become, *de facto*, independent of Spain, professing an intention to return to their allegiance to Ferdinand, on his restoration to the throne, which few of the leaders expected, and, certainly, none desired. The viceroy of Lima strained every nerve to arrest the progress of this revolution; all the reinforcements that could possibly be spared, were sent to Goyneche; who, partly through treachery, as

well as by superiority of numbers, defeated Balcarce at Huaqui.

I have said nothing of the incidents of the war in Peru, and with the Spaniards at Monte Video, both of which had their influence on the local feuds of Buenos Ayres. The defeats in Peru, and the bad success of the war in the Banda Oriental, must have contributed not a little to the instability of the governments hitherto established, as well as fomented party-spirit. The calling in of the Portuguese by Elio, the Spanish governor, at Monte Video, on finding himself closely pressed by Rondeau and Artigas, had also its effect on the councils of Buenos Ayres. The ASSEMBLY, at its first meeting in April 1812, elected Pueyrredon as one of the members of the triumvirate; his conduct in Peru having rendered him, at this time, extremely popular. This body, however, did not stop here, but proceeded to declare itself rightfully invested with supreme authority. A struggle of course ensued, and ought to have been foreseen; the popular opinion was on the side of the executive, which proceeded at once to dissolve the ASSEMBLY; it was accordingly done without resistance. During the administration of Pueyrredon, the siege of Monte Video was renewed, and through the mediation of Lord Strangford, an armistice was concluded, in the month of June, between the Portuguese and Buenos Ayres; in consequence of which the former withdrew their army from Banda Oriental, and a reciprocal guarantee was agreed upon with respect to each other's territories. This is the third time we find the British interfering in behalf of Buenos Ayres; the first when a blockade was attempted by Elio; afterwards, by mediation between her and the junta of Cadiz; and, finally, in the present treaty negociated with Brazil through their interference.

The arms of the republic experienced severe reverses in Peru; Belgrano was defeated at Ayuma, while the Spaniards threatened the city of Buenos Ayres from the river La Plata; the consequence of a junction of the Spanish forces in the upper provinces with those at Monte Video, would have produced the same effect as the junction of Burgoyne and the British at New York. The defection of Artigas also manifested itself about this time. The public mind, in consequence of this state of things, was greatly agitated; a more energetic executive was called for; the assembly, having engrossed the power of the state, were too much occupied in idle debates. A proposal was brought forward to repose the executive authority in the hands of one person. It was warmly debated, and at length carried; the triumvirate was abolished, and on the

31st of December, Posadas was elected, under the title of SUPREME DIRECTOR, and a council of seven appointed to assist him. Belgrano was recalled from Peru, and Rondeau appointed in his stead, while Alvear was invested with the command of the army before Monte Video. The authority of the assembly rapidly declined, as that of the executive increased. Alvear, taking advantage of the popularity he had gained by his success against Monte Video, sought the command of the army in Peru, and, having obtained it, was on his way, when informed that the officers and men had come to the determination not to receive him. On his return to Buenos Ayres, those who had been instrumental in his appointment, in order to manifest still more their regard for him, and their disapprobation of the conduct of the army, succeeded in elevating him to the office of supreme director, Posadas having resigned.

This was followed by general disgust throughout the provinces, and all communication between the army of Peru and the capital was interrupted. Cordova and several of the other provinces were on the point of withdrawing from the confederacy. The people had become sensible of their error, and Alvear, finding that his short race of popularity was drawing to a close, conceived the idea of maintaining his authority by the aid of the regular troops. He withdrew from the city nearly all the regulars, professedly with the intention of marching against Artigas. The people took advantage of his absence, and rose *en masse;* the civic troops, and the citizens capable of bearing arms, during three days abandoned all employments, and *stationed themselves on their house-tops*, in expectation of his marching against them. But the state of things in the city was no sooner made known to the army, than respect for Alvear instantly fled—Colonels Alvares and Valdenegro openly declared against him, on which he was compelled to take refuge on-board a British ship, whence he made his escape to Rio Janeiro. The authority of the state was again thrown *into the hands of the cabildo.* The assembly, during the administration of Alvear, had sunk into insignificance, and fell to pieces of itself. On the 16th of April, 1815, the cabildo issued a long manifesto, enumerating the evils of the last administration, pointing out the errors and defects of the former system, and speaking of past occurrences with a freedom which would not be tolerated by those in power, and who were unable to bear the *severe probe of a free press.* No press ever censured more freely the misconduct of the public men than that of Buenos Ayres, but it was usually after they were turned out of office. The cabildo elected Rondeau supreme director, and Alvares to supply his place, *pro tem.* A

JUNTA OF OBSERVATION was chosen to supply the place of the *sovereign* assembly.

The new government immediately took measures to convene a NATIONAL CONGRESS, which would fairly represent the whole body of the people; and to do away every idea of capitalism, it was appointed to meet at Tucuman, 1200 miles in the interior.* Great expectations were formed of this assembly, which was considered by many as their last hope, for the fate of the republic seemed to approach its crisis. Its situation was truly deplorable. The defeat of Rondeau at Sipe-Sipe, towards the close of 1815, was as calamitous as the battle of Cannæ to Rome. Chili had fallen a victim to the dissentions of two great families, and was in the possession of the Spaniards, who were in consequence enabled to throw reinforcements into Peru, and at the same time to compel Buenos Ayres to form an army at the foot of the Andes, under the command of San Martin, to prevent an attack from that quarter. The Spaniards, it is true, had been dislodged from Monte Video, but the revolt of Artigas, which threatened to draw after it some of the other provinces, was even more vexatious and distracting. Ferdinand, now restored to the throne, was preparing a powerful expedition, as was supposed, for the purpose of crushing them at a single blow, at a moment when the success of his armies in Peru and Chili, and the internal dissentions, completely seconded his views. It is in times like these, that nations turn their eyes upon their ablest men, and for a while lay aside their petty jealousies and distrust. The resignation of Alvares had been followed by the election of Balcarce, who soon resigned also. The general government possessed neither power, strength, nor influence. The belt of their union had been unbuckled,

"While bloody treason flourished over them."

In the language of the manifesto of Pueyrredon "anarchy had lighted up an universal conflagration. The NATIONAL CONGRESS at last assembled, towards the close of 1815. Pueyrredon, who had been called from his retirement, was soon after elected, by an unanimous vote, SUPREME DIRECTOR; certainly, no equivocal testimony in his favour. He immediately visited the armies of San Martin and Belgrano, and on his return to Tucuman, proposed the declaration of independence, which was finally passed on the 9th of July, 1816.

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* Two petitions, signed by upwards of two hundred citizens of Buenos Ayres, were presented to the municipality, praying that the city might be stripped of the honour of being the capital, as a mode of quieting the discontents of the provinces.

CHAPTER V.

Departure from Buenos Ayres—Touch at San Salvador—Island of Margaritta—Victory of Maipu—Its Effects in Venezuela—New Grenada, &c.—Position of the military Forces there.

As the time of our departure drew near, our impatience to return to our native country increased. Towards the latter end of April, we bid adieu to Buenos Ayres, a number of the most respectable citizens attending us to the beach. On the 29th the Congress weighed anchor from off Monte Video, and touched at Maldonado, to take in supplies. Here we experienced a dreadful pampero, from which we considered our escape peculiarly fortunate. On the 4th of May, we took our departure from this place with a favourable wind. We had a fine run to Cape Frio, which we made the seventh day after leaving the river.

The commodore observes, "It was on the 11th of May I fell in with Cape Frio, and passed it within a few leagues. Kept upon a wind heading north-east. At ten o'clock, *p. m.* got bottom in twenty-five fathoms, coral rock. No sounding of this kind being laid down in my chart, I felt much alarmed, and more particularly so as the night proved very dark and rainy, with heavy squalls, sometimes heading off north-by-east. At meridian lost soundings, having passed, as I imagine, over this ledge of rocks lying off St. Thome, distant at least thirty miles. Cape St. Thome is laid down in 21 deg. 50 min. south latitude. I came into these soundings in latitude 21 deg. 25 min, and carried them in a north-easterly direction to latitude 21 deg. 37 min. having from twenty-nine to thirty-seven fathoms, and immediately after shoaling to thirty-three fathoms, there was no bottom with 120 fathoms of line. The wind then drew round to an east-north-easterly direction, and blew in tremendous squalls, with much rain; and fearing, as I did, that if I continued on, bordering along the coast until I came up with the Abrolhos shoals, which give broken soundings at least 200 miles off the land, that the wind might come back to its natural point, the south-east, and embay me, I reluctantly tacked to south-east, and before I could make my easting, I was set to the south of Cape Frio, by a strong current, setting about south-south-west or south-west. The wind continued to blow from north to north-north-east, heading us up on each tack for twelve days, which entirely disappointed us in our prospect of a fine passage to St. Salvador.

During this unpleasant period of contrary winds, we were

driven nearly into the supposed latitude and longitude of the island of Portuguese Ascension, whose existence is a subject of doubt among navigators; a singular circumstance, considering how completely this sea has been explored for the last hundred years. A description and drawing is given of it by Frezier; but the Russian navigator, Kreuzenstern, a few years ago, devoted some time in search of it without success. From the circumstance of seeing several land birds, at the distance of five or six hundred miles from any known shore, we were almost induced to believe that we were near this fabled island, as it is now supposed to be.

After a passage of twenty-five days from Rio La Plata, we came in sight of San Salvador, or Bahia. "I found, in running in for this place, a strong north-easterly current, setting at least one and a half knots the hour, produced, no doubt, by the south-south-west wind, which had blown almost a gale for two or three days. My ship was brought down to close-reefed topsails and storm-staysails, in standing off upon a wind, after having made my run as nearly as prudence dictated, the night being dark and weather very squally. I tacked at eight o'clock, *p. m.* and stood off under easy sail, going with a high head sea, two and a half knots the hour, until four, *a. m.* when I tacked on west, and made more sail; and at six, *a. m.* saw the land, bearing north-west, supposed to be the cape. I stood in until it was ascertained to be so, and at eight o'clock, *a. m.* the weather looking very bad, and blowing hard, I stood off again until ten o'clock, *a. m.* when the weather clearing and moderating in some degree, I wore and stood in again, and at meridian observed, in latitude 13 deg. and 9 min. south, Cape St. Antonio, bearing west-north-west, three-fourths west, distant four or five leagues, chronometer longitude, agreeing exactly with the chart, contained in the East India Pilot, but our charts differing from it thirty miles, in laying down this cape I am at a loss which to rely on.

"I continued standing in upon a wind heading from west to west-south-west, sagging fast to leeward with the current and sea, until the cape bore, or rather the fortress, standing on the spit of the cape, nearly north, when I perceived the colour of the water alter suddenly, indicating soundings. I hove the lead with thirty-five fathoms, and got no bottom. In a few minutes got eighteen fathoms; next cast fifteen, next twelve, and then nine, when the ship was hove in stays, and luckily came round, for there is no knowing how much water a few minutes more might have given us. It was now four o'clock. The fortress bore north-half-east, and we were distant from it about two and a half leagues, while this shoal is laid down in

all my charts, at the distance of four miles, with four fathoms. This apprehension, and finding no attention paid to my signals for a pilot, I stood off until four o'clock, *a. m.* when I tacked, and at an early hour again made the land. The land to the north-east of St. Salvador cannot be mistaken. For ten leagues there are no very prominent parts, although the land is considerably elevated, and somewhat irregular and broken; but it may always be known from six to ten leagues from the cape, by its white, spotted, chalky appearance, somewhat resembling linen spread upon a green sward to bleach."

Not being able to procure a pilot, the commodore determined to run in by his charts, which he effected without any accident. On our approach to this great city, we descried a forest of masts, indicating its great importance as a commercial place. The entrance to the harbour is by no means as safe as that of Rio, and, from its width, not so easily fortified. The harbour is one of the most spacious in the world, bordered by a most beautiful picturesque country, in a high state of cultivation in cotton, cocoa, coffee, and sugar. The city is situated upon a hill, several hundred feet in height, but a considerable part of it occupies the sides of the hill, and the narrow strip of land at its base. The upper, or new town, is much better built, and has an air of cleanliness, unusual in Portuguese towns. The king touched here, on his arrival in the country, and a monument has been erected in one of the public gardens, commemorative of the event. Mr. Hill, the American consul, a gentleman of fine talents and agreeable manners, came on-board, and escorted us to his house, where we were shewn every mark of attention and hospitality. We called on the governor, the Count dos Palmas, who succeeds the Count dos Arcos, lately appointed prime-minister.

On the 5th of June, having laid in every necessary supply, the commodore resolved to make all sail for the United States. "About four o'clock, *p. m.* with the ebb-tide just making, we weighed anchor, and commenced beating out of the harbour. At seven o'clock it became very dark and squally, with the wind right in, and the pilot, who had insisted on leaving us an hour before, saying we were as far as he could take us; on finding his canoe filling astern, he became so alarmed as to be quite useless. I suffered him to depart, although not clear of the western shoal, which runs off several leagues, and as long as I could see the light-house on the castle of St. Antonio, I kept under way beating out; but at length it became so dark and squally, that I determined to come to an anchor, and did so in thirteen fathoms." The next day we succeeded in gaining the open sea, and proceeded on our voyage. We had a

delightful run along the coast, passing between the continent and the island of Fernando de Naronka, thus shortening our distance considerably.

"On Sunday, the 21st of June, at nine o'clock, *p. m.* my reckoning was out, and the ship had been previously put under her three topsails, double-reefed, steering down west from latitude observed at meridian, 11 deg. 24 min. north, the north-east end of Tobago lying (by Bowditch) in 11 deg. 29 min. I continued to run down all night, the moon shining quite bright, but saw no land. At day-light made all sail, and hauled up west-by-south, believing we had been deceived by the currents we had allowed by lunars and our chronometer; when at nine, *a. m.* on Monday, the island of Grenada was discovered bearing west-south-west. I then discovered, by examining the 'Personal Narrative' of Humboldt, (one of the most accurate observers of latitude and longitudes that has ever written,) that the north-east end of Tobago lies in latitude 11 deg. 17 min. south, which, added to a strong current setting to the north-west, had occasioned our passing Tobago without seeing it."

On Tuesday, the 23d, we anchored in Pampatar roads; the island of Margaritta, far famed for its heroic repulse of Morillo, had the appearance of a bleak and barren rock. The next day I went on shore with an officer. We found the village, which might at one time have contained several hundred souls, in a state of ruin. I waited on the governor, a kind of Indian about seven feet high. On inquiring for Gomes, the governor of the island, he told me that he was at the village of Assumption, some miles in the interior. I then made arrangements for horses to ride over the next day, in order to pay him a visit. Accordingly, early the next morning, the commissioners, the commodore, several officers of the ship, Mr. Read, and myself, went on-shore. After being detained some time, we were mounted on some wretched animals, so small and poor as to be just able to carry us. We passed through a poor sandy country, bordered by high and naked hills, but as we approached Assumption, its appearance grew somewhat better. Near the town, we were shown the valley where Morillo had been defeated, with the loss of 1500 men. When we consider that this victory was achieved by peasants, the greater part of whom were armed only with stones, it deserves to rank with those of the days of William Tell. A breakfast *a la fourchette* was provided for us by Gomes, who received us with hospitality. He is a man of stern countenance, and Herculean frame; his complexion is very fair, which I consider somewhat singular in a native of these islands. There were fifteen or twenty officers,

whose complexions were not so fair, but who shone out well in their uniforms. I was much pleased with two young men, who arrived to invite us to dine at Griego, with their father, General Arismendie, who we now learned was in the island. The invitation was accepted by Mr. Read, Lieutenants Clack and Vorhees, but the commodore and the commissioners declined, on account of the excessive heat.

Some distance from Assumption we crossed a rapid stream, whose channel was well supplied with water, and its borders shaded by trees of a prodigious size; after this we passed a number of small cabins and cultivated patches along the road-side, for two or three miles, when we gradually began to ascend the mountains, which are as high as the Alleghanies, and their sides, until cleared for cultivation, covered with wood. We saw a great number of small patches, a few acres each, where the inhabitants cultivate manidioca, cotton, bananas, and Indian corn. We crossed the mountain through what we should call a gap, an extremely narrow defile. When at the summit, we descried a beautiful valley below, about six miles long and three broad, running down to the sea, hemmed in by mountains on the other sides, but which presented innumerable clearings, and small patches of cultivation, without any visible habitations; these were probably constructed of reeds, and hid among the trees. The valley had been laid waste by the Spaniards, and all the cocoa-trees cut down. The soil is good the whole distance to the village, and the road bordered by huts very slightly constructed.

We found Aresmendi a small man, rather taciturn, but of an aspect firm and undaunted. His entertainment was very far beyond any thing I could have expected at this place; several of the officers waited on the guests, and they appeared to take pleasure in addressing each other in the French style of *citizen.* Toasts were drank, accompanied with music and discharges of artillery. Our horses having been turned out, we found ourselves compelled to remain here all night. A ball was got up, but not in the most refined taste. Early the next morning we took leave of Arismendi, and returned on-board the Congress.

The island contains a population of 20,000 souls, who are chiefly peasantry, who subsist by cultivating small spots of ground. As we passed along in the cool of the morning, we saw a number at work in these miniature fields. Their general dress is cotton-pantaloons and shirt, of their own manufacture. The island is strongly fortified; redoubts and forts are constructed on every height near which the enemy would have to pass.

The news of the victory of Maipu, which we brought, pro-

duced great rejoicing, and, we afterwards learned, had important effects on the confederacy of Venezuela, and even through the viceroyalty of New Grenada. Like the shock of a tremendous earthquake, it will be felt throughout the continent.

Before I venture to give a sketch of the events of the revolution in this quarter, I shall make some observations on its geography and the character of the inhabitants. The captain-generalship of Caracas and the viceroyalty of New Grenada have been even more intimately connected in their struggle against the Spanish power than La Plata and Chili. The progress of the contest in the one has constantly re-acted on the other; neither, or both, must be independent of the kings of Spain. With some shades of difference in the character of the people, their feelings and opinions, in relation to the cause in which they are engaged, are the same. Even in those districts where the revolution at first made the slowest progress, and which have been almost continually under the influence of the Spaniards, revolutionary principles have been silently but rapidly working their way. If the Canadians on our continent had not been of a different race, and repelled by their antipathies to the *Bostonais*, there is little doubt but that they would have joined us in the contest with Great Britain.

The captain-generalship of Venezuela or Caracas is composed of the provinces of Venezuela, Maracaibo, Varinas, Guiana, and the island of Margaretta. The coast from the province of Santa Martha of New Grenada, down to the mouths of the Oronoko (which are as numerous as those of the Nile or Mississippi) is in general bold and in some places mountainous. The rivers which discharge themselves into the Caribbean sea along this coast are generally inconsiderable, on account of a ridge of mountains which branches off from the Cordillera of Santa Martha, passes round the celebrated lake of Maracaibo and there runs with the coast at the distance of forty or fifty miles. The valley of Caracas is formed by this mountain, and the river Tuy, which waters it, flows along the ridge of the coast for some distance before it finds a passage to the sea. Between the two ridges of mountains just mentioned, the land is elevated like those of Peru, though on a smaller scale, and of a less elevation, but sufficient to afford a perpetual spring within the tropics. There are other elevated positions in various parts of the captain-generalship, affording the same temperature, while the plains of the south towards the Oronoko are excessively hot. The rivers which flow to the interior, and which are tributary to the Apure, or other western branches of the Oronoko, pass over a much more extensive country than those of the coasts, and are of greater magnitude. The main trunk of the great

river just mentioned, on examining the map, will be seen to hold a course for several hundred miles from west to east, enclosing a parallelogram with the coast, the main branches of the Apure rising in the neighbourhood of the lake of Maracaibo. This track is about 500 miles long, by 200 in breadth, and with the exception of the province of Guiana, which lies on the south side of the Oronoko, it comprises all the provinces of the captain-generalship; but the province of Guiana is at least a third greater in magnitude than all the rest put together, although it may be regarded as an uninhabited and even unexplored wilderness. Venezuela has two remarkable natural boundaries; the mouths of the Oronoko on the east, and the lake of Maracaibo on the west; on this side it is also separated by high mountains, extremely difficult to cross, from the viceroyalty of New Grenada.

To the south Venezuela is traversed in its breadth by the tributaries of the Apure and Oronoko, as has been stated; but the surface of the track of country, for more than 400 miles in length, and 150 in width, is a plain almost as level as the pampas of La Plata, and in some respect resembling them; but in general essentially different. The streams which water this track of country take their rise either in the ridge which runs along with the coast, or in the mountains in the vicinity of Lake Maracaibo, and, during the seasons of rains, which in this climate are prodigious, they pass over the banks and inundate the adjacent plains to a great distance. There are also numerous channels of cross communication, in consequence of which, in the rainy season, the surface of the country presents the appearance of a vast inland sea, and the courses of rivers are only marked by the tops of the forest-trees on their borders. During the other portion of the year the streams shrink within their channels, leaving immense plains, which are soon covered with luxuriant herbage, and sustain numerous herds of cattle, until the approach of the dry season, when the grass is burnt up by the heat of the sun, the water evaporated, the plains present the appearance of naked deserts, and the cattle perish by thousands for want of food and water. Such is the country which has been the principal theatre of war between the Spanish general Morillo, and the patriots under Bolivar, since the capture of Angostura. Their campaigns have been constantly interrupted by the return of the rainy season, and, during the period favourable to their military operations, the nature of the country and the climate are such as render it almost impossible for European constitutions to withstand the privations and fatigues to which they must unavoidably be exposed. These causes both operate in favour of the natives; delay, occasioned by the interruption

in their campaigns, enables them to increase in strength, while the cause of Spain grows weaker, and, from habit, the sultry heat of the plains, to which they are accustomed, like Arabs, can be better withstood than by their enemies.

From the nature of the track already described, extending across the Apure into New Grenada on the south, opposes a natural barrier to the communication with the populous districts of that viceroyalty; for even when not covered with water, it is a vast and almost trackless desert, interspersed with morasses and marshes extremely difficult to pass. Our enterprising countryman, MACAULEY, was one of the first to cross from Calabozo to Santa Fee de Bogota, where he commenced his short but brilliant career in the cause of South American emancipation.* The greater part of the country which stretches from the left bank of the Oronoko, is composed of immense plains, subject to inundation. The inhabitants resemble those of Banda Oriental or La Plata, and the subjugation of these herdsmen, in their widely-expanded wastes, will be equally difficult. They are possessed of prodigious bodily strength, and, like those of the south, are capable of sustaining extraordinary fatigue, contrary to the opinion usually entertained of the inhabitants of warm climates. They will, in fact, bear almost with indifference what exposes the European soldier to the severest sufferings. Although their habits are in general indolent and slothful, they can suddenly pass from this state to one of the most vigourous energy; like the furious boar of their plains, so finely described by Humboldt, which basks its listless length in the sun, until excited by the sight of its prey, when it instantly displays a power of motion truly terrific.

The population of Venezuela has been estimated at 800,000 souls, but the devastating war which has been carried on, has diminished the number very much, especially in the provinces of Caracas, Cumana, and Guiana: but that of Margaritta has been increased by emigration from the union. The province of Maracaibo has suffered less than any, although it has been put under heavy requisitions by Morillo for the support of war; without the assistance he has drawn from this quarter and from New Granada, it would have been impossible for him to have maintained the contest. The delightful valley of Caracas has

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* The recent march of Bolivar, as a military achievement, has never been surpassed. He set off at the commencement of the rainy season, when his antagonist, Morillo, expected that he had retired into quarters. None but the troops of the country could ever have accomplished this undertaking; his men were for weeks literally to the waist in mud and water. Of the English troops which accompanied him, but a handful appear to have survived.

been almost laid waste, and the beautiful plantations of cocoa, cotton, sugar, coffee, and indigo, formerly so celebrated, have been in a great measure destroyed.

The uncivilized Indians of the neighbouring mountains and plains have, in general, regarded the contest with indifference. The Indians of the plains in the rainy season pass from one point of high land to another in their canoes, and often remain many days in succession on the water; and the circumstance of their sleeping in hammocks, suspended between branches, has given rise to the story of their living in the tops of trees.

The kingdom of New Grenada is probably the most important Spanish feudatory in South America. It is equal in extent to the United States west of the Mississippi, and capable of containing a greater population. In most respects it resembles Peru, lying chiefly between the two Cordilleras, which begin near the sea-coast in San la Martha, and which form the valley of the great river Magdalena, on which is situated Santa Fee de Bogota. This kingdom is probably one of the most diversified in its surface in the world; but its most remarkable characteristic is, its mountainous aspect. Excepting by the channel of the Magdalena, or by the way of Peru, there is no way in which an army can be sent by Spain to subdue its inhabitants in their inaccessible mountains. But for a series of causes of a most peculiar nature, Morillo, even with the assistance of the troops from Peru, and all the old Spaniards, then in the country, never could have put down the revolution.

FINIS.

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BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek

MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Brackenridge, Henry M.,

Voyage to Buenos Ayres performed in the years 1817 and 1818, by order of the American government

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